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BIOGRAPHY

OF

SIR CHARLES TUPPER

MINISTER OF RAILWAYS, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P.

HIGH COMMISSIONER OF CANADA TO ENGLAND

BY

CHARLES THIBAUT

ADVOCATE AND PUBLICIST

MONTREAL

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SIR CHARLES TUPPER

“ He the true ruler and conqueror,
He the true lord of his race,
Who nerves his arm for life's combat,
And looks a strong world in the face.”

D. F. MCCARTHY.

With certain men as with certain trees, the stronger the tempest rages about them, the deeper they bury their roots in the soil. Wildly assailed by political storms, those men of indomitable energies generally reach sooner the object of their ambition—the summit of their glory. A uniform sky is ever monotonous ; a political atmosphere, constantly serene, damps the courage of him whom it surrounds. Strong winds alone dry the earth ; refreshing dews render it fertile. A public career is not bound by ordinary rules, nor governed by every day laws. Its life is excitement. In order to grasp at fame, man must leave the beaten path, stray from the common ways. He must rise with the tide of popularity, and from the mountain heights, or the crest of waves, dictate to the people beneath. Fame may snatch you unawares ; a good name is acquired only by degrees. It glimmers aloft like a beacon ; you must rise and soar to its level in order to grow glorious in the contact. Glory is the flash, reputation the lightning rod of safety. Glory is not spontaneous,

no more than renown its footstool. By constant labour, transcendent qualities, an immutable will, brilliant deeds and a union of circumstances that place all the powers and energies in contact with exterior forces, alone can man reach that end.

The hardest steel receives its brightest polish from the most rugged file. The chiselled diamond ever flashes the greatest brilliancy. In order to be seen in his full glow, and to be appreciated according to his real merits, the true politician requires contradictions. Alas ! too often is he judged by the glimmer of a false light, too often is he unappreciated until he drops his arms and quits the arena—that theatre of his numberless contests. The world is prone to judge with passion men that struggle ; above all men who conquer. Success is so often a crime in the eyes of the envious many.

Political life, with its acriminous contests, its fruitless encounters, its disastrous defeats, its fierce hatreds, its sudden changes, its passing triumphs, its numberless miscalculations, is the vortex wherein are lost so many noble hearts ; wherein so many brilliant minds are sunken, and so many beautiful reputations sullied. Then, should it not be with fear and trembling that a young man would enter that winding labyrinth where so often is heard the hiss of the hydra of egotism, falsehood and deceit ? Oh ! yes, for those who prepare for that ungrateful career, it is well to remind them of that fearful line in Dante's "Inferno"—"All who enter here abandon hope"—of peace, rest, fortune, gratification ! You are on the highway : ingratitude lurks along it, ruin is its terminus. Yet, if the country calls for a holocaust, if victims are necessary, offer yourselves ready for the sacrifice ; do it without second object, do it without ambition,

do it without egotism. Aim but at your country's good, work but for her happiness and glory. Such is your political duty ! With all other objects your country shall be the victim and you the dupe. The political man belongs no longer to himself ; his every action must tend to one end, point towards the general welfare.

Thus it is that directing the noble faculties with which heaven endowed him, towards the proper ends, forcing his adversaries to recognize the purity of his motives, the grandeur of his views, the extent of his ideas ; imposing on the multitude his political desires ; governing all the elements of discord that trouble the bosom of a country, youthful, agitated, unsettled ; conciliating the conflicting interests of hostile races ; rendering justice to the weak ; combating the religious prejudices of the people ; meeting face to face and with open helmet the able, wise and tricky leaders who are ever in perfect harmony with popular prejudices and aspirations ; finally triumphing over all obstacles,—is more than the action of a man, it is that of a real genius. Such was the career and such is the story of Sir Charles Tupper.

History is not a mere collection of scattered documents. They should have a tie even as the woof in the web. Simple facts may cast a light upon a life, yet their union alone joined to passing events can constitute a biography. Besides veracity, impartiality is also necessary. And impartiality is the more certain when the biographer is completely independent of the one whose origin, contests, labors and successes he is about to recount.

Moreover, the pen of flattery is as false as the pencil of caricature. Exaggeration is to truth what cosmetic is to beauty : deformed thereby it receives no benefit therefrom.

I

ORIGIN OF THE TUPPER FAMILY.

The Tupper family springing from the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, one of the three states of the olden Germanic Confederation, after planting its tent on the Island of Guernesey soon left the little Isle and went forth to seek fortune and establish its home amongst the primeval forests of the new world. In those days all who felt a thrilling desire for liberty ; all those whose ambition soared above their actual position, the disenchanted children of the day, men of talent, men of genius, all seeking their fortune left behind them the shores of old Europe and fled towards the banks of young America. Virginia drew to herself a number of English and Guernesey emigrants. The former brought with them their love of liberty ; the latter their affection for the motherland.

Soon the position was about to be explained by a particular circumstance which would establish a striking contrast, exhibiting the fidelity of the one and the love of independence of the other.

Revolution had just breathed upon the Anglo-American Colonies ! The murmur of the forest, the fecundity of the soil, the charms of the climate, the land in its richness sufficed no longer ! In order to further develop the

natural resources it seems perfectly patent that no foreign shackles were required to be bound around the commerce and the industries of the land. No bond is needed for the activity of the people, no tax upon their success.

To reach that end man must rise against his motherland. The American colonist takes arms to conquer and obtain the benefits that floated before him in his dreams as he crossed the Atlantic.

Still England has so learned to inculcate in the minds of her subjects such a love of her institutions, laws and customs that even Englishmen far from their country are generally ever attached to her. Thus had many of America's colonists left their hearts in their native land. Faithful children of that mother, they still desire to live in her memory, under her protection, her government, and her laws. Where is the power that can hold a child separated from the one who gave him life? Against the bayonet of the foe a child would rush, that he might fall into the arms of his mother. The Loyalists, under the persecution of revolting factions, deprived of their means, cast into cells, found it necessary to abandon all, that they might remain faithful to old England. The dawning Republic had broken the bonds of their allegiance to her, placing their loyalty to the greatest test. They should sacrifice everything: goods, patrimony, fortune, home, memories and hopes in order to remain faithful to the old flag. Great was the sacrifice; even it was ruin itself! The sentiment of loyalty triumphed in that duel between interest and honor. Amongst those voluntary victims of love of country and devotion to England were to be found the forefathers of Dr. Tupper.

Scarcely ever is a sacrifice sterile in its effects: sooner or later its reward must come. Many of the descendants

of those voluntary exiles shall one day play important parts in the drama of the new country of their adoption : Some in the political arena, others on the fields of battle. Many of those refugee families will be seen fighting in the foremost ranks, giving their lives to uphold the power of England in America. Blood is the purest criterion of love. Isaac Brock one of the Tupper family, shall be amongst the number. It was in 1812, on the summit of that ledge that forms the cataract of Niagara, and bending around the western extremity of Lake Ontario, constitutes the heights of St. Catherines and of Queenston, there was played a sanguinary drama. On the 13th October, the American General Van Rensselaer, embarked his troops in flat boats and commenced the attack of Queenston. Col. Dennis of the 49th held him long at bay, when his cannon being taken, he was forced to retreat with considerable loss. Brock hearing the cannonade, rushed to the scene with his aides-de-camps, Major Glegg and Col. McDonnell, to learn the cause of the tumult. Seeing the hopeless situation, he leaped from his horse, took command of a company of the 49th, and brandishing his sword, at double pace, he marched towards the enemy. Brock fell, to rise no more. At the sight of this, his soldiers in fury threw themselves upon the American ranks, despite the quadruple numbers of the latter, hurled them down the heights and force them to present themselves to Sheaffe, who took command after Brock's fall. The latter was carried off in his 42nd year—the idol of the army and of all Toronto of which place he was then Governor.

II

NOVA SCOTIA.

Nova Scotia, now one of the Provinces of the Canadian Dominion, is situated between the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean ; between the 35th and 42nd degrees long. and the 43rd and 47th lat. of the American continent. It is the eastern extremity of the Canadian Confederation. When discovered by France in the 16th century, it formed part of New France. From its great fertility it received the name of Acadia. There, on the banks of the old French Bay, around Port Royal, at Grand Pré, at Beau Bassin, and the Bassin-des-Mines, after gigantic struggles and wild fights, the descendants of old France fixed their tents. Their memory alone calls up some of the darkest pages of history. On the arrival of the French, the Micmac and Malecite tribes, branches of the great Algonquin family, divided amongst themselves the land. Soon they were either conquered or destroyed ; civilization stamped out the red man ! Long ago, in the 9th century, olden manuscripts tell us that Scandinavian hordes, in their grotesque boats, touched the Iceland shores. The Ingulf Norway had established there in 864 ! At the commencement of the 10th century, the pirate Eric, the Red, finding refuge nowhere else, was

forced to continue towards the west. Having reached Greenland, Eric founded a colony there with the children taken from that inhospitable Isle ; there he set up a royalty, the memory of which soon was lost in the wilderness of the Atlantic.

Lief, one of his sons, hearing that Biorne, the Iclander, had found other lands, started upon an unknown trip. This sea-rover, with favorable winds, soon reached the shores of Helluland, the land of bare rocks,—Newfoundland of to-day ;—thence going on westwardly, he touched in a short time the shores of the Markland of then, the Nova Scotia of to-day.

Nearly five centuries had rolled on since the adventures of Eric's son, when the tocin of time rang out a new era for America. Columbus, Cabot, Cartier, Roberval, Gilbert, LaRoche, DeMonts, Poutrincourt, Champlain, Latour and Charnisé, had either found or established relatively prosperous colonies upon the soil. Alas ! The France of Louis XV, did not appreciate the importance of those distant settlements ! England, more practical, cast upon them her soldiers and her money, and fortune favored her. The Acadians, although quiet and retired upon their farms, held in dislike their enemies long after France had forgotten them ! The English resolved to build a city that would rival Port Royal. Consequently in 1749, Cornwallis came to lay the foundations in the harbor of Chebouctou, of this new establishment called Halifax, called after his protector Lord Halifax. English emigrants, favored greatly there, flowed in from all sides : the exiles of the neighboring Republic soon came to seek an asylum and protection.

Lawrence succeeded Cornwallis as Governor of the new colony. In his reign, in 1755, was seen one of the most

odious and ignoble deeds ever perpetrated before the eyes of civilization,—the dispersion and persecution of the Acadians. But Heaven is just! One hundred and ten thousand Acadians, to-day assembled in the Maritime Provinces, attest to the world that might is not always right, that iniquity is no offspring of human justice, that the vanquished of yesterday are often the victors of to-morrow.

III

BIRTH OF DR TUPPER—HIS LOVE OF WORK—HE STUDIES
MEDICINE—REFLECTIONS UPON THAT STUDY.

Strange reverse in the things of this world ; inside a quarter of a century from this dolesome event, that tarnished forever the banner of England, the American Revolution, in its turn, expelled from its bosom the loyal sons of Briton. These latter, in 1783, disembarked at the Bay of Fundy, opposite Navy Island—thus seeking an asylum upon the very soil whence their allies had driven the Acadian people ! These emigrants dispersed over the country. The County of Cumberland received its quota, and amongst them the paternal grandfather of Sir Charles. At Amherst, in this county, on the 2nd July 1821, he was born.

His younger days are but little known. When he entered politics his mother was no more, and a mother often hides in the recesses of her heart those traditions, unforgotten by only her, that tell of her child's first years. Did she fear that in divulging those secrets her admiration would not be sufficiently appreciated ? Oh ! sacred egotism of a mother's tenderness, why should we take from thee those hidden treasures ! Suffice to say, that young Tupper, after a brilliant course of studies at the College of Acadia, in his native land, where still very

young he became Master of Arts, went to carry off fresh palms at the Edinburgh University, in Scotland, where he received the title of Doctor in Medicine, and became fellow of the Royal College of that city. All those honors fell upon one of twenty-two years !

This not only displays his talents, but also exhibits his love of work, which he never dropped all the while. He had ever an energetic and an indefatigable mind. Labor is to man what the dew is to the flower, the sun to the crop. The brightest genius, without work, can but cast a feeble, flickering light, the real spark is wanting. Labor renders sweet the bitter, drives away loneliness, raises the heart, strengthens the soul, consoles in sorrow, ennobles, elevates, stamps with grandeur. The universal *panacea* of the world, the law of punishment and reward, the happiness or misery of man depends upon it.

The young Master of Arts learned this lesson of daily experience. His family, moreover, gave him an example of social virtues. His father, a Doctor of Divinity, had acquired, even then, as a Baptist minister, not merely a good name, but more still, an enviable reputation. Of reflective mind, sincere, upright, exteriorly somewhat severe, the Rev. Mr. Charles Tupper had an excellent heart, a high soul, and an unchanging devotion. A great lover of science, he early inculcated the taste in the hearts of his children. He lived to the hoary age of 85. Thus, in the legitimate pride of a father, he could contemplate the merits of his son. Happy the one who, in the joy of honest consciousness and the calm of honorable age, surrounded by the respect of all, can glean the fruits of those good examples set by himself.

Medicine is an uncertain, difficult, ungrateful science. It requires deep study, constant researches, sure judg-

ment, continued devotedness, daily activity, and a mind disinterested, such as few men possess. To succeed here a young doctor needs prudence and study; he should have special qualifications, particular aptitudes and great tenderness towards those who place confidence in him. It would be so cruel to neglect the sufferer! Masters of health and often the lives of their patients, if by their fault, the physicians are causes of the death of the unhappy ones who confide in them, they shoulder a responsibility terrible for the conscience, and before society and before God. Only in trembling should a youth step inside the vestibule of that temple, and with a holy terror approach its mysteries. There are the springs of life and fountains of death. There are the secrets of health, the talisman of strength, and the moving principles of weakness and lethargy. There do men seek from inert matter, the secrets wherewith to cure the human body, that animated and living temple. Anomaly strange in appearance and sanctioned only through necessity. The physician, worthy of that title, besides knowledge, requires goodness, delicacy, sympathy and faith. For the sick he holds the place of a sister's care and a mother's tenderness. Dr Tupper shall show himself worthy of this noble profession. Even from the start he shall hold a high rank in the hierarchy of the Faculty. In a short space, his knowledge and the result of his studies, activity and devotion gained for him a large and lucrative practice. One of the causes of his political popularity in his native County of Cumberland, is that during 28 years he was ever faithful in good as in bad fortune. Dr Tupper was daring in his conception, prompt in the means used, successful in his operations. His fame caused him to be chosen President of the Canadian Medical Association from its

foundation in 1867 until 1870, at which time his new duties forced him to decline a re-election.

In his "Reflections on the French Revolution," the celebrated Burke ridicules the idea of confiding to professional men, the political affairs of the country, their ideas being, as it were, circumscribed by the circle of their professional functions, render them unable to grasp all the movements of the governmental machine, which are necessary for the perfect action of the state. What Burke thinks of political physicians, Cormenin, in his beautiful lines on "Des Orateurs" proclaims of the lawyers. "The lawyer speaks," says he, "the lawyer quarrels, the lawyer reigns, the lawyer governs, the lawyer does all; yet still nothing is done. Nothing is done of all that is to be done." This trait was not against Sir Hector Langevin, Chief of the French-Canadians in the House of Commons, and colleague of Sir Charles in the Macdonald-Langevin Government; for Sir Hector speaks little, but acts, promises less than he gives. His clear voice goes straight to its end; he is master of his ideas; he express only what he desires to say, he only says what he desires to express, and the opposite of Mr. Cormenin's lawyers, he works, acts, executes, commands. Dr Tupper also escapes the iron rule of Burke. By his varied studies, rare faculties of comprehension, his powerful memory, his chosen language, and his light, lively spirit, he rose rapidly above the circle of his professional practice, from land to land his knowledge extends. The history of law, the philosophy of history, facts, political economy, social duties, government rights, international laws, the aspirations and requirements of peoples, all seem familiar to him. Every obstacle leads to success, every difficulty that presents itself is a fresh

source of encouragement for his energy. Those obstacles raise a man's spirit; Sir Charles never feared or dreaded them. He even created them for himself in order to destroy them and conquer.

IV

THE HON. JOSEPH HOWE AND THE REFORMERS.

Often circumstances raise up and form men. Whilst Dr Tupper gave himself up with all his activity to the practice of his profession, certain events of importance followed rapidly upon each other in Canada. A new era arose : 1837 came. The new aspirations of Canada passed into existence, the breath of liberty that swelled the sails, the Papineau struggles and those of Wm. Lyon McKenzie had received their counter-stroke even to the recesses of the furthest British Provinces in North America ; Nova Scotia felt the shock. Dr Tupper merely awaited a favorable chance to spring into the arena, and soon it presented itself. With the example of our Canadian tribunes, Joseph Howe, then editor of a semi-weekly journal in Halifax, attacked with violence the *family compact*, and the Government of the day. He swept down on the abuses existing, with a fine and satirical spirit, a cunningness of repartee and that bitterness of expression the secret whereof he knew so well. Instead of bending, the Government began to persecute the irate journalist. Even he underwent a trial ! Joseph Howe was triumphant in the case ; so able, solidly conceived and brilliant was his defence. Then it was that the Reform party was born ;

Joseph Howe came forth, persecution drew to him friends and partisans. Elected to the Legislative Assembly, he bore with him those instruments of destruction for the haughty dignitary of the Administration. He thundered against abuses, demanded reforms, petitioned the Colonial Office against the conduct of the Governor and the system of leaving to Judges, irresponsible to the people, the control of affairs. England yielded to Howe—the step was decisive—an immense and important victory it was. The Legislative Assembly assumed to itself the executive control of the Provincial finances.

Sir Colin Campbell's administration was scarcely happy in its successes. Its nomination of new Legislative Councillors offended the Reformers. Howe gave neither truce nor rest. His journal lacerated from without, his speech tore it from within the walls of the Assembly. Ignoring or else refusing to conform to the order of Lord John Russell, then Secretary of the Colonies, to accord virtually Responsible Government to the country, Sir Colin was recalled on a petition of the House.

Viscount Faulkland succeeded him. Liberal himself, he favored his party, and Joseph Howe is called to the Presidency of the Council. But the Governor drew down on himself the ill-will of his friends. Howe replumes his pen and strikes this functionary mercilessly. The *Chronicle* published a poem, "Lord of the Bedchamber," which raised the laughter of the people. A satire sharp and biting against the poor Viscount. Under the administration of Sir John Harvey the elections of 1847 took place. The Howe-Uniacke ministry was formed—first Liberal administration in Nova Scotia. Under this regime it was that, at Washington, the famous Ashburton Treaty was passed, the dispositions of which have since been the subject

of regret. Thus, what Papineau in Lower Canada and McKenzie in Upper Canada had performed, Howe just accomplished in Nova Scotia. Howe had a great advantage over them, his pen and language he yielded equally well. A spirit of satire, a redoubtable tribune. Under his pen of steel and tongue of fire the oligarchy was severed to pieces, ridiculed, made odious—it was an hour of terror for the *family compact*. There, as elsewhere, the thunder groaned, the lightning flashed, that England might come forth from her habitual indifference; she sees clearly, only through the glimmer of incendiary fire. The French-Canadians had taught her that they were not born for slavery. She feared for the American Republic is so near us! Nova Scotia profited by the struggles, as did New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island.

The popular combat began in the Maritime Provinces. Joseph Howe gathered the greater portion of the glory. He was a knowing chief, cunning polemist, powerful writer. The great strength of the day, he held in his hand the chord of popular sentiment. About then France and England carried on the Crimean war, and a treaty of reciprocity without our participation was signed between the motherland and the United States. This measure called forth a motion of censure before the Government. It was Mr J. W. Johnston, Chief of the Opposition, who proposed it. It was defeated in the House of Assembly, but it was evident that the popular feeling was hurt. Under these circumstances came on the elections of 1855.

V

DR TUPPER IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Great was the agitation in the country. All the fiery questions of the day were discussed in the Assembly. The new press, the clubs, the political associations, the party men, the citizens were the numerous echoes of that Assembly. With small countries as with narrow seas, their waves are shorter and more dangerous than those of the vast ocean. Political passions being more restricted seem wilder than in larger states ; they gain in violence what they want in size ! What analogy between the moral and physical natures !

Dr Tupper's day had come. In his thirty-fourth year, in the plenitude of his strength and faculties, he was little fit for the monotonous, lonesome yet peaceful practice of a physician's life. His active mind required a larger action, his studies led him to a sphere more vast, more in harmony with his temperament, tastes and aspirations. The "*trahit sua quemque voluptas*" stirred him long. The angel of politics or rather its demon—angels are ever free from it—took him by the hand and breathed in his ear other desires, planted in his heart other ambitions. Disdaining a feeble adversary, he attacks the most powerful, even the very chief of the predominating party in Nova Scotia ! He comes out against the Hon. Joseph Howe in Cumberland. Another Prometheus, he snatched from the latter his sacred fire and celestial

flame. Never was there a more brilliant contest, never an election more warmly contested, never an election triumph more glorious. Victory ranked with the doctor and his ally, Mr. A. McFarlane, who defeated, at the same time, the Hon. Stephens Fulton. From that moment, Cumberland County, belonged without contest, to Dr Tupper—a rare example of political attachment and fidelity ! The people are ever so inconsistent ! The County of Cumberland, proud of its young representative, expected much from him. The House, the country, all participated in their sentiments, and their expectations were not mistaken. The newly elected member for Cumberland started, at the first step, from the ordinary road. Reputation as well as nobility imposes its duties. Had he not in his electoral contest vanquished the most able politician and cleverest speaker of Nova Scotia ? This audacious stroke clothed him in a prestige of strength ; his warm, eloquent and persuasive language was soon to become authority. His *debut* was a success, he then revealed himself as a large-minded politician, parliamentary orator, able diplomatist. His very nature drew to him that people, to whom, after God, he owed so much. He defended their interests, demanded their rights, pleaded in favor of a larger remuneration for the petit juries ; and on the occasion of the arbitrary dismissal of the Deputy Sheriff of Cape Breton, Mr Richard Logue, the 14th February, 1856, Dr Tupper delivered a grand and beautiful address ; better than a harangue, it was a real programme. The member for Shelburne, a friend of the Government, had expressed that Yankee doctrine, *that the government should govern by and for the party*, that unjust doctrine, with its iniquitous consequences, which would give the places, benefits, honors only to the

party friends, never to adversaries, who should have no right to favor or justice. The member for Cumberland attacked those subversive, unjust, unequitable principles, looking to the right he addressed the ministers :

“ Sir, is there nothing more in Responsible Government than that which we heard unblushingly asserted lately by the honorable member for Shelburne that : *“ the government should govern by a party and for a party ;* that the revenues of the country were to be expended but to reward their political supporters. Sir, if the lineaments of the human countenance are any index to human hearts, I think myself justified in saying that no considerable body of men could be found in this House prepared to endorse that principle, or to be driven to the support of a Government, irrespective of the merits of the question under consideration.”

The frightened ministry imagined itself lost, but the mover of the motion re-assured them. “ If I wished to make a motion of non-confidence,” he said, “ I would bring forward other accusations, your hour will come by and bye.” The debate that followed was long, animated, cutting at times, eloquent throughout. It was called the “ *Constitutional debate* ;” it lasted ten days ! The numerical advantage was with the Government, the popular sympathy with the Opposition, then led by the Hon. W. J. Johnston, a man of great talents, of sweet eloquence and vast erudition. The ministry permitted itself to be drawn too far, the discussion took proportions too extensive. The Government should answer for its conduct and its doctrine, “ To the victors the spoils.” It was slippery ground,—Dr Tupper, who took umbrage to the Government, showed here his great superiority. His repartees nailed his enemies ; his arguments were irre-

futable; he hurled at them those thundering words of Rogers, "You wished to be murderers, you are only suicides." It was true! Then he terminated with those words, which may be cited here to show the conduct of the ministry. "The Government should define their policy, else united on no public question, agreeing on no public policy, they must take the verdict of the country on the anomalous position they occupy; which is that of a number of individuals combined for their mutual benefit alone, and distributing the *spoils* of office in such a manner as to subserve, not the good of the country, but their own continuance in power."

Thus, Dr Tupper unmasked the ministry amidst the loud plaudits from the galleries. Their rage merely served to injure the more their cause. This grand and celebrated fight set the young member for Cumberland in a new light. He revealed himself erudite, brave even to temerity, eloquent in a thousand ways yet above all in his courage. He fights with open helmet, but his armory is filled with destruction's projectiles. Combat is his life, he would rust with inactivity: a flame dies for want of food.

In him is the nerve, the impetuosity and style of the German. He reasons like a German, fights like a Hussian, expresses himself with the vivacity of an Irishman, and attacks with the fury of a Frenchman. If his genius is subtle, his heart is right. He wounds an enemy but keeps no spite. His soul is open to pity: yet, like all men of struggle, his adversaries know him not.

He gave them so many fatal strokes, but time in curing their wounds will efface all bad impressions. Justice begins for those who need it no longer—but better late than never!

VI

BISHOP CONNOLLY AND DR TUPPER.

In this world, there is a virtue tender yet powerful, sweeter than the honey of Hymetta it heals all wounds—above all those of the heart, rectifies injustice, corrects error, checks fury, consoles the sorrowful, and is ever a fountain of encouragement. It is a virtue rich in resources, in its light the soul expands ; a virtue prodigal of itself, crushing itself for the happiness of others. It is a virtue too noble to be common, too sublime for the appreciation of the vulgar, too lofty for adverse natures to reach—holy, tender—they call it friendship.

Truly have the ancients said, “The friendship of a great man is a blessing from the gods.” The sage has said from a hundred chose your servant, from a thousand, your friend. A modern writer has beautifully spoken on the subject of friendship : “Happy,” he says, “the one, who having found a friend can continue with him hand in hand, ever lit by the light of his presence, ever warmed by the glow of his heart, ever invigorated by his word and counsel, ever fortified in his strength.” He that rests on friendship’s arm does not stagger through life. It is the ivy around the oak.

Men have too many friends, they need mostly a true one. The member for Cumberland had the rare happiness of possessing such a friend. And who was that one ?

Archbishop Connolly of Halifax. He was the beacon-light, the pole-star, the compass of the new Chief that Nova Scotia was about to receive. The far-seeing Bishop was not lightly prodigal of his friendship, a rare *connaissieur* of men, with a lofty intelligence he knew true merit at a glance. Born a politician, he knew how to appreciate politics. He soon judged his new friend for whose benefit his vast knowledge was afterwards used. That sincere alliance and that mutual understanding served to open a way for, and overturn the obstacles that lay before Dr Tupper. More than one victory, more triumphs than one did he owe to them. Better still, this union is to be, for the chosen man of Cumberland, the source of many acts of justice that are to become the cause of his political advancement, general prosperity and great popularity. The Catholics, although merely 86,000 in a population of 330,000, and dispersed over a region of 1,338,200 acres, were still at that day combating the ignorance of the masses and the prejudices of fanaticism. The Irish and the Acadians (the latter already 32,000 strong), despite the Reform support could not gain a legitimate share of influence or patronage. They helped their allies to clime the steep slope to power. Once entrenched upon those heights, which they deemed forever inaccessible to their adversaries, they ignored the claims of their former friends. Ingratitude became more than a crime, it became an irreparable fault, a certain political suicide. Dr Tupper will be seen grasping this injustice and making it the stepping-stone to power. Soon the occasion presents itself.

A wild riot broke out amongst the workmen at the Gourlay shanties, upon the line of the Windsor railway, then in construction. An unjustifiable crime had been

committed by a few Irishmen and Catholics. Fanaticism rose to its paroxism ; the act of a few unhappy men could not be distinguished from the conduct of a people ! Catholics in general were accused of the crime, their faith made to be the cause of it ! Even the Hon. Joseph Howe could not hide his feelings, blind rage carried him on. The slope of fanaticism is slippery, once at the foot of the precipice it is hard to arise. The *Morning Chronicle* of the 27th December 1856, breathed its fury in an evil-inspired attack upon the Catholic faith, and especially the dogma of the real presence in the Holy Eucharist. In a calmer hour Mr Howe might have disowned his letter on " Railway Riots and Catholic Commentators ; " but passion had rendered him unjust. A lively discussion commenced between the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Halifax Catholic*.

The time was gone when to hold one's faith, was to cast disbelief on the idols, despose the tyrants, and give your head to an executioner. England had learned a more conciliatory system, O'Connell had already snatched from her *the test oath*, and forced her to a greater tolerance. The occasion and subject were ill-chosen by the veteran-reform-athlete ; the gauntlet was cast down, the Catholics took it up. Dr Tupper, with his sharp eye and political sagacity, joined the ranks of the weak and oppressed. His honor was ever one of the causes of his great success. Sympathy is sweet when exercised in favor of the down-trodden. Moreover, religion is sacred, it should be touched as seldom as can be ; there exist so many mysteries between the human heart and the justice of God.

VII

FALL OF THE YOUNG MINISTRY.

The Parliament that was prorogued on the 18th April, 1856, met again on the fifth of the following February. During the recess, on each side, the arms were sharpened, for as long as Constitutional Governments exist, so long shall there be battles between the right and left, contests between those in power and those who seek power, struggles between the Ministry and the Opposition. All over creation man has the same instincts, ambitions, projects and hopes. Since 1854 the Hon. Mr Howe had accepted the seat of President of the Railway Department. Having been elected later on for Sidney, at Cape Breton, he was, to a certain extent, leader of the Government, and consequently his unfortunate attack of the 27th December, 1856, drew down upon the Government all the thunders of the Opposition. The political atmosphere grew heavy: dark clouds hung upon the horizon, and soon the tempest broke. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Gaspard LeMarchand, opened, on the 5th February, the 2nd Session of the 21st Parliament of Nova Scotia. The Address from the Throne contained little of any importance or new projects; it spoke of railways, commercial relations with other places, past prosperity and future expectations. The member for Annapolis, the Hon. J.

W. Johnston, immediately moved a vote of want of confidence : it was seconded by Mr Marshal, and bravely taken up by the first minister who declared himself ready for the trial. Honor to courage even in misfortune !

The Hon. A. W. McLelan, present Minister of Marine and Fisheries at Ottawa, undertook to propose the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne—and made little of the Opposition. Then, in his thirty-third year, he represented Colchester.

The next morning, the member for Annapolis began the attack by a sober, dignified, moderate speech, wherein he clearly and concisely exposed the grievances of the country. The Hon. Mr Young answered calmly and with dignity. The final battle had commenced, but the large battallions were, as yet, inactive, the red shot had not yet been hurled against their ranks. Beware the bomb ! The lively doctor, the young leader of the Opposition, as the Hon. Mr Young was pleased to style him, entered the lists. Every stroke tell ; he was eloquent, satirical, unmerciful. He passed in review before him the faults of the ministry, their want of principles, their continued oscillations, their uncertainty and weaknesses ; in vigor of impetuosity and style of argumentation somewhat provoking, he reproached them with their every act, every injustice, every error. Then stepping upon the burning ground of religious discord and sectional quarrels, he appeared on a large, solid and generous footing,—that of the toleration which we owe, as citizens of one land, to the opinions, views, faith and religion of each other. It was raising the debate to a grand level and laying the foundation of a platform sufficiently large to hold with ease, the people of the world. Fanaticism and intolerance had lit the flame throughout the land, moder-

ation with the spirit conciliation brought back peace and harmony in extinguishing it. Having cited the *Eastern Chronicle*, the official organ of the Liberal party, which preached union on all material questions, railway building, &c., the member for Cumberland showed how the country was tired of those struggles, ineffective, sterile, passionate, whose only results could be to perpetuate a state of things ruinous to the nation. Then he finished his eloquent address by the following declaration of those principles which he endeavored to follow throughout his whole political career since that day, *equal justice to all*; he terminated by those equitable and assuring words:

“ Sir, I have no wish to mingle in what a large portion
“ of the country regards as a purely personal quarrel
“ between an individual and his former friends; yet we
“ cannot disguise the fact that a question has been raised
“ in recent exciting newspaper discussions involving
“ principles of religious and civil liberty. On the thresh-
“ hold of this discussion I have no hesitation in boldly
“ asserting that, as a dissenter, a Baptist, and a Liberal, I
“ shall ever maintain the Cardinal principle of civil and
“ religious liberty—justice to all, without respect to sect
“ or creed. (Hear and cheers.) And, sir, had I been in
“ this house when a struggle took place against the undue
“ ascendancy of the Church of England, I should have
“ been found battling side by side with those who sought
“ to uphold the principles and maintain the right of other
“ denominations to exercise as large an amount of in-
“ fluence and consideration as was enjoyed by it. I deem
“ it to be the duty of every good citizen to contend against
“ the undue ascendancy of any man or class of men,
“ whether Catholic or Protestant. The administration
“ that entertains or acts upon a contrary opinion requires

“that its supporters should ignore that fundamental principle of equal justice to all.”

This was a clearly defined and reassuring programme. It was a promise to the minority that justice would be done them and a defiance to the fanatical spirit that sought to advance. The Opposition promised to bury the hatchet, to restore the peace that fled from the late troubles, to calm the excitement raised by Mr Howe's letter, in fine, to set the car of the state, so long off the track, once more upon the road of harmony, the moral and material progress of the people of Nova Scotia.

This speech drew to them the sympathy of a majority of the House. He established quiet outside, for the people, whose instincts are pretty exact, desired order, harmony and conciliation. The Hon. William A. Henry, at present a Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, then Solicitor-General, came to the rescue of the First Minister. He was cautious and prudent, the surest means to reach his end. The load of principles was ever inconvenient, above all, when administrations change. Mr Marshall answered him. The discharging from office of Mr William Condon, gave the latter a chance of accusing the Government with partiality ; and he concluded with this crushing phrase : “Do they seek to make us believe in their tolerance and honesty when they send off a Catholic and keep in service a Protestant guilty of the same offence as Mr Condon ; more so ! when they honor the one and deprive the other of the means to gain his living ?”

With anxiety they awaited Mr Howe's answer, the moment was serious and the occasion solemn for the ministry seemed to be beneath. It was the 9th February, the third day of the great debate, when the Hon. Mr Howe, pale and suffering, arose. His was a painful posi-

tion, being the chief cause of the false circumstances which surrounded his friends. His provocative letter had raised the winds and the tempest came, yet his energy seemed not to abandon him. But by the oratorical displays that thrilled in his defence it could be seen that truly the Government no longer depended for its existence upon the charm of his speech and the command of his language. Stoical, as those pre-condemned gladiators of old, his address was a long and brilliant plea:—resting on the defensive, he strove to gain in admiration what he lost in confidence :

“ But, Mr Speaker, I have seen many dark days and
“ sunny ones too in this country, days when I had not as
“ many friends around me as at the present hour, and
“ when my hold upon the affections and feelings of this
“ people was not as strong as it is at the present moment.
“ If the clouds should lower and the storm burst, I shall
“ meet the frowns of fortune with the same energy,
“ firmness and determination with which I have encoun-
“ tered every vicissitude in my political life.....
“ Throughout a long political life of thirty
“ years, throughout a long Parliamentary career, I have
“ been true to the friends with whom I started. The time
“ may come, I say, when some of these friends may
“ desert me and their party—some may do it willingly,
“ but others will do it most reluctantly. When the new
“ administration is formed, Mr Howe’s office will be at
“ its disposal. He will take his seat on these benches an
“ independent member, will say that which he believes
“ to be right. And, sir, all combinations which can be
“ formed will never coerce or intimidate, confident that
“ the heart and soul of Nova Scotia is with me in this
“ struggle, etc.”

This speech was worthy of any tribune ; rarely a more eloquent has been heard ; the peroration was grand, noble. The moaning of a bleeding heart, the cry of a soul that, relying on its strength, has hope in the future. Too often is politics a miserable game of chance. Eloquence alone suffices not to maintain the equilibrium ; stronger are the supports of tolerance, justice, honor : without these the edifice must crumble. The Young administration was soon to be a thing of the past. The struggle lasted during twelve days. The 17th, the vote was finally taken. The Young Cabinet was overthrown by a majority of six votes—22 to 28, ten Liberals voting with the Opposition ! Great men call forth other great men, as eloquent orators create other great speakers. When all is quiet in a state, the men of superior talent are either scarce or unknown. Struggle is necessary to draw them from their retreat and cause them to be appreciated. Young countries coming into the life of liberty, progress, arts, and new existence generally have more celebrated men than those lands where neither combats, efforts nor obstacles are to be found. Persecution triples the valor and activity of a people ; eloquence draws forth eloquence ; Howe created Tupper.

VIII

THE JOHNSTON MINISTRY — THE HON. CHARLES TUPPER,
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.

The Honorable Mr Johnston was called upon to form a new Administration. This was announced in the House on the 24th February. It was composed of :

Hon. J. W. Johnston, Attorney-General.

Hon. Chas Tupper, Provincial Secretary.

Hon. John James Marshall, Finance Secretary.

Hon. Stayley Brown, Receiver-General.

Hon. Martin J. Wilkins, Solicitor-General.

And of :

Messrs. Michael Tobin.

“ John McKinnon.

“ John Campbell.

“ Charles J. Campbell.

The Ministers were all re-elected by large majorities in their respective counties. But the House, almost equally divided, would not allow the same Administration to stand long, for there were men of equal strength and

equal ability on both sides. This was the time of the great struggles in the Nova Scotia House—the epoch of grand political combats. Johnston and Young, Tupper and Howe, Wilkins and Annand were the heroes of those brilliant tournaments of science and political knowledge, whose legitimate desire was to gain their end by means of true eloquence. The Young opposition gave no respite to the new Ministry. Mr Howe especially opposed Sir Charles, and against him directed all his batteries—yet the Cabinet did not remain inactive : In a young country all must be created, and they set themselves to the work. Public roads were insufficient or badly kept, the Statutes were modified in accordance. Considerable sums were voted to partly complete the railroads, the laws were revised, grants were given to passenger boats. Large public works were accomplished. Agriculture was encouraged. A manifesto, published in the papers of the day, and demanding *equal rights for all, and undue preponderance for no one*, created a lively sensation. The press was also the subject of long and acrimonious disputes, in which, amongst others, J. C. Wade, the ex-deputy for Digby, then in the vigor of his youth and strength of his talents, was conspicuous. The most important subject to deal with, was certainly that of the mines. A great and prejudicial anomaly then reigned in the Province. Minerals of all kinds, and coal of every species were to be found all over, and yet none dare touch them ! In 1826, George IV, in virtue of the claim of might over right, doubtlessly, accorded to the Duke of York, his brother, all the mines not yet explored or conceded in the country ! This was a cause of continued trouble, an unjust, arbitrary monopoly, that placed the most precious resources of Nova Scotia in the hands

of a powerful foreign company. This measure gave rise to many debates, numberless recriminations were uselessly made, the General Mining Association remaining deaf to all moral sentiment, the Ministry decided to make a grand stroke and do away with the Company. In 1849, in virtue of the Civil List Bill, the Province was invested with all the mining rights, subject, however, to existing privileges. The Duke of York's creditors claimed the nine pence Royalty per ton as a regular right since 1844 to 1855, to wit : £55,481 sterling, by virtue of their privilege ; but as many of the partners were dead, their heirs, not coming to an understanding, took their grievances before the Courts. Unhappily the English Government, without regard for the prerogatives of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, in June, 1845, granted new powers, still more exorbitant than the first, to the Mining Association. It was an abuse of power and it compromised the best interests of the Colony. The latter lost £24,000 sterling by this action. An end must be put to such an abnormal state of affairs that caused the Province to lose its best revenues. The Ministry resolved to send a deputation to England to definitely arrange this matter. The motion to this effect gave rise to a long discussion ; but finally it was adopted by a large majority. In consequence, the Hon. Attorney-General Johnston, and Mr A. C. Archibald, a distinguished member of the Opposition, left in June, 1857, for England, as a commission and deputation from the Legislative Assembly, to settle forever this most vital question for the Province. Powerfully seconded by Mr Cunard, the deputies succeeded, in England, in finally regulating the dispute in favor of their Province, and to regain the right of exploring those rich territories, which right had been

snatched from them by the act of George IV. The House, on the 22nd of February, 1858, by a vote of 30 to 18, ratified the conduct of its delegates in London. Thus the Johnston Ministry settled one of the most important questions that for years had agitated the Parliament and the people. It was also on the 5th August of the same year that the first telegraphic communications were opened between Europe and America.

In the Speech from the Throne made on the 4th February, 1858, Sir Gaspard LeMarchand announced his departure. He was promoted to the post of Governor of the Island of Malta. He was replaced by the Earl of Mulgrave. The Address in response to the Speech from the Throne was voted by a very small majority. With a House thus composed, it would be difficult for the Ministry to carry any great measures. The position of the United Canadian Parliament was similar, George Brown and his friends reigned during forty-eight hours! One Administration followed another without accomplishing anything. Thence arose the idea of Confederation. It is well known how this idea was afterwards developed. This year went by in acrimonious, passionate, eloquent, yet very often sterile conflicts. The Hon. Provincial Secretary was the principal one to feel the shock. The questions of the Opposition, the attacks of adversaries, the sarcasms of Mr Howe, the repartees of Mr Young, all found Dr Tupper ever prepared with vigorous replies. The Session passed in mutual recrimination, yet the mining question was discussed to the great displeasure of the friends of the Duke of York. Ideas of other railways arose—above all, the Intercolonial. Furthermore, they proposed a measure to amend the Act concerning the Elective Provincial Council.

The Session closed with a question, the most irritating that could possibly be brought before a House composed of different religious denominations. The "Young resolutions" were the cause of this. They attacked the Government on the ground of dismissals and new nominations. Religion became mixed up in the affair. The debate was acrimonious even to hatred! The Hon. Mr Howe dishonored himself by the violence of his language. He denounced bitterly the letter written by the Catholic Bishops, assembled in Council on the question of Education. This opened a healed wound, relit a conflagration almost extinguished. Joseph Howe, despite his brilliant mind, had not very clear judgment. His head was not too well balanced at times, his fiery nature often caused him to miss his aim, and very often passion carried off reason. The Provincial Secretary vanquished him each time they met in combat. If to fight a man is a proof of courage, to conquer him is an evidence of superiority. Sir Charles had advantages that his adversary wanted: he was calmer, as well informed, and more diplomatic. He gained, through liberality, what Mr Howe lost through intolerance. He knew how to make for himself true friends and devoted allies. The people love frankness, and much is pardoned on its account,—a sincere man is ever respected and admired, no matter how much we may differ from him. If we cannot love him we can trust him. Shame on those political demagogues whom you meet, the smile on the lip, full of politeness and promises that they know they can never fulfil—they are deceivers—their eyes, which can scarcely look you in the face, lie as do their hands that press yours; they can do nothing, nor care they to do anything for you. A true politician acts otherwise. He promises nothing lightly, flatters you not before your

face, gives you no vain hopes ; but he renders you justice whenever the occasion presents itself. He gains your confidence, commands your admiration—you first respect him, then love him. Behold him on the highway of popularity, for he has followed the path of justice. Thus did the member for Cumberland gain popular favor ; his frank nature drew to him many friends. The 20th March, only three days before the adjournment of the House (1858), the Hon. Mr Tupper had occasion to deliver a great speech on the “ Young resolutions.” Defending the action of the Ministry with fire and sword, he overran the Opposition territory with rapid and inflexible logic. He soon demolished the badly-constructed edifice of his adversaries. He hurled at them defiance the most audacious, which they did not dare accept. To each personal accusation he presented a vigorous reply, an able repartee, a crushing proof. He did not wish to be their debtor during the coming recess—his speech was a model of defence, knowledge and eloquence. Mr Howe made a satirical and able reply. In 1858 the contest was, at times, magnificent. The Hon. Joseph Howe being then only in his 54th year, and in all the plenitude of his faculties, animated by a strong animosity against the member for Cumberland, the chief cause of his fall, spared not his strokes. The latter withstood the shock. All species of combat are equal to him ; open fight, flank attack, or closed helmet, he never retreats. This guerilla warfare did not surprise him, he ever stood his face towards the enemy. He would blush to the brow at weakness, his heart would grow indignant at cowardice. Proof against dread, he knew not fear. He strikes while speaking, he speaks while striking. Far from retreating, he advances—too far, say his adversaries : where he seeks

to go, say his friends. In truth, if the member for Cumberland is impetuous, if his language jets out, clear, bitter, aggressive, with volubility almost unequalled, if his assertions are hazardous even to temerity, it is none the less true that he a thousand times defied his opponents, and they accepted not the defiance. He has the qualities of a tribune ; his voice is sonorous, his language attractive, his style correct, his phrase powerful, his gesture expressive, his appearance proud. He attracts attention, he charms not, but persuades ; he never carries you away, but he convinces you. Far from courting attention he forces it from you. He sustains courage in his friends, demolishes his adversaries. The more the latter attack him, the more the former support him. The more the former confide in him, the more the latter dread him. Aided by a faithful memory and serious study, Dr Tupper was never imposed upon by those who attacked him on the floor or on the hustings. He recalls events and facts with such exactness that you must give in. All know he is endowed with a magnificent memory. There is Dr Tupper just as the Parliamentary history of Nova Scotia depicts him to us during the first years of his career !

The Parliamentary recess came, the Hon. Provincial Secretary was not to pass it in quiet—lethargy was not his *rôle*. He started for England, there to place before the Parliament of the Mother Country the grave interests of his Province. The questions of the Union of the three Maritime Provinces and the Intercolonial Railway, were broached at that time by the delegates of the House and the officials of the Crown in England. The ground was prepared ; it was evident that the old system gave few satisfactory results.

The Hon. Dr Tupper produced quite a favorable im-

pression at the Colonial Office : he showed himself there a man of business and an able diplomatist. He drew much of the admiration and finally the confidence of the authorities, which contributed greatly to his success. The Earl of Carnarvon held him in great esteem. They remained ever afterwards strong friends, which proved, in the sequel, of immense advantage to Dr Tupper.

IX

THE SESSION OF 1859.

We have reached the 3rd of February—with grand display the Earl of Mulgrave opened the annual Session. The Speech from the Throne was a surprise ; something new ! Communications had taken place between the Colonial Office and the Governor-General on the subject of the Federal Union of the Maritime Provinces. The Queen had, also, favorably received the address on the question of the Intercolonial Railway. Sixty miles of the iron road were partly built, and Truro and Windsor were united to the Capital ; the Lunatic Asylum was also partly completed. The Government had not spent the vacation with folded arms. In a new country how many things there are to create, to begin, to consolidate ! Directly after Mr Ruggles' remarks in response to the Speech from the Throne, the Solicitor-General, the Hon. Mr Wilkins, tendered his resignation. Although faithful to his party, he could not sanction the nomination of Mr Dickey to the Legislative Council, nor the sending of a delegation to England without some previous notice and approval of the House. It was an independent action, yet one that exposed the Government on the very threshold of the Session. He was replaced by the Hon. W. A. Henry. The Hon. Mr

Young, Chief of the Opposition, proposed, *séance tenante*, a motion of want of confidence. In the course of his remarks he scourged the new Solicitor-General, as "having violated every rule of political morality in thus abandoning his party," and drew on a hot war of words. The Parliamentary system being only in its infancy, the dissensions were far more frequent than now-a-days, and the press was very provoking in its remarks. The Hon. Dr Tupper, the continued object of the attacks of his adversaries, acquired from that time his characteristic vigor of reply, for truly the sphere in which he lives exercises a considerable influence upon man. His temperament is modified, his character transformed, his nature changed. The new Session gave the Provincial Secretary full opportunity of measuring strength with the Opposition, to come face to face with his adversaries. Young, Howe, Archibald, Annand, Weir, and Anderson were not to be despised. In that troubled period of history, that age of political infancy and economical transformations, Nova Scotia had quite a number of able men. The Hon. Mr Johnston would be worthy of any Parliament; his powerful eloquence was worthy of any tribune. The member for Cumberland being the most redoubtable of the speakers, upon him fell most of the Opposition strength. He made his blows sure and hard. The Session of 1859 saw a repetition of the former Session. The time was spent and often lost in endless speeches, and although ably delivered, they were scarcely profitable. However, it was the grandest epoch in New Scotland's oratory: it was a people taking a fresh impulse and springing into freedom. Dr Tupper's eloquence is the synopsis of the splendor of one side; as, arduous, affirmative, imperative, at times violent, it was ever sure to reach its object, and

ever sure of itself. It stamped a special mark on the debates of 1855 to 1864. The contest was then lively, animated, spirited ; Johnson, Young, Tupper and Howe were the souls of the struggle. Unhappily, the question of appointments occupied too much time in the House, excited the people too much, and the greater interests suffered in consequence. The Opposition leader went into everything with energy, science and talent. He condemned strongly the commission sent to England to negotiate upon the Federation of the Maritime Provinces and the Intercolonial Railway, and considered those projects should first have been discussed in the Legislative Assembly. The Hon. Mr Tobin and the Hon. Provincial Secretary made answer. The latter made a vigorous defence of the acts and views of the Administration—nothing escaped his scrutiny. Passing in review the deeds of the former Cabinet, he compared them with the new Government and showed how the left had changed their ideas upon their formerly favorite measures. The Opposition was devoid of any fixed principles or steady programme. Confining themselves to criticizing, they proposed no practical measures. Dr Tupper, not contented with generalities, became precise as to facts, circumstances, dates and transactions. The left, unable to answer, blushed at their impotency. The inflexible Doctor scalped, cut right and left in the living flesh. Repelling, with indignation, the attack made by the Hon. Mr Young against the Ministry, on the occasion of the support given him by the Catholic members, he said :

“ *Mr Speaker* :—No christian sect in this House should
“ be proscribed with success, and those who try to raise
“ a war of religious prejudices and to incrustate the

“ odious name of proscription on their banners will miserably fail.

“ If the Protestantism of the leaders of the Opposition were not of so recent formation, beginning only after their dismissal from office, they would know a little more than they seem to, of the genius of Protestantism, which fundamental principle, is the most complete as the largest toleration. The new Protestantism of Messrs Young and Howe approaches more to that of Sweden than that of England. It is but lately the Protestant Alliance of England reproached most emphatically the King of Sweden for the expatriation of his subjects, owing to their Catholic faith ! reminding him that Protestantism was resting entirely on the broad principle of the greatest liberty of conscience : which one and all Protestants claim for themselves.”

Then quoting the proclamation of Queen Victoria to Her subjects of India, the Hon. Dr Tupper showed what views were entertained in England towards the different creeds :

“ It is our formal desire, said the Queen, that Our subjects of all races and of all creeds should be admitted freely and impartially to the charges of the State, according to their ability and integrity to fulfil them.

“ Even here, exclaimed the Hon. Secretary of State, under the seal of royalty, we have the foundations solidly built of religious and civil liberty ; and those who try to uproot and destroy them are traitors to royalty and to British principles. They have dared to affirm in this House that the Catholics supported the Government in order to obtain position and power. I feel in justice, and I owe to the truth to declare, that this is absolutely contrary to facts, and that there never

“were partisans less eager of official positions than our friends, the Catholics.”

Behold Dr Tupper ever the same, without prejudice or weakness. All his political life and all his public career stand there to overthrow such insinuations and destroy such attacks. His first speeches in the Nova Scotia House were in favor of liberty to all, his last words were directed against the tyranny of conscience. He carried ever a long way his respect for religious principles ; he was only consistent when seeming partial. Soon we will hear of his solid speeches on Educational liberty. If the Nova Scotia Protestants are proud of Dr Tupper, the grateful Catholics are none the less so. Their friend when persecution hung over them, he protected and counselled them. A man of large ideas, he will only be properly appreciated when no longer in the midst of the tumult. “Impartiality begins when the critic has no longer a foothold ; so impartiality is the aurora of the day of justice.”

Mr Howe's speech in answer to Dr Tupper surpassed in violence and fanaticism anything yet heard in the House. It was a wild and furious diatribe on the Catholics. He feigned a deep feeling, blaming the Government for causing the public offices to be closed, and to have used the banner for Bishop Walsh's funeral ! He scrupled not to raise up religious animosities, and so descended into those depths, beyond the reach of honesty, in order to insult his former allies. Rage destroyed the Hon. Joseph Howe, or more properly his *ruse* ruined the Government. He did not himself believe in the sentiments he expressed, his sole desire was to tear down the Ministerial party, his sole object to excite the Protestants against the Government in the elections about to take

place that year. The succeeding events showed that he aimed well : such is the formation of the people, they fabricate real troubles in order to overcome imaginary evils. A population is easily excited, yet whosoever desires, cannot make them listen to reason. Mr Howe strove for a religious contest ! Nova Scotia could only escape from it by the ability, labor and efforts of Dr Tupper and his friends. The Address was voted by a majority of five votes after fifteen days of the most acrimonious debates imaginable ; religious differences ever being the most envenomed topic.

Mr Howe knew the ground he took : He would say to the ministers of the different religious sects : “ Look at those Catholic priests that govern us ! A stranger dies, (Mgr Walsh) and the Governor goes to kiss his feet, while the Puritan missionaries, the first martyrs of devotion to our cause, sleep forgotten in their tombs ; rise up, aid us to reconquer what we have lost ! ” It required no more to relight the flame of internal dissensions ! There was truly here a want of sincerity. Fanaticism being the mere fruit of ignorance. Mr Howe laughed at his dupes, while he believed not a word of all the accusations that he hurled forth. He urged them to a tyranny over conscience,—error and persecution are closely allied ! He knew full well, that until a light should fall upon his accusations, on his chosen ground he would reign as sovereign master. Once a man exercises such a power, and that no barrier presents itself to his will, it is impossible for him not to fall into some false position. Howe, upon that occasion tarnished his reputation. It suffices not for a leader to command with talent, he must further do so with that wisdom and moderation which the feelings of others dictate.

The pedestal raised upon the burning ruins of intolerance, must soon fall to the ground. Joseph Howe had established deadly principles and had sown the seeds of subversion but to glean the bitter fruits of his own actions. Broken, annihilated, humbled, the veteran athlete, tired of his struggles, will soon be forced to recognize the triumph of his adversaries, to bind himself to the victor's chariot, to repudiate his past conduct, to adore the rising sun and to join with Dr Tupper after the advent of Confederation. Saturn destroyed his own children ; so fanaticism kills itself,—it is dangerous to play with fire ! With his versatile mind, the old Reform Chieftain knew better how to sap the foundation of the arch than to rebuild or preserve it. Few were his practical ideas of Administration ! Sir Charles Tupper was the contrary ; he stood victor at the close of his long struggle with Mr Howe.

The estimates of the Legislature for the fiscal year were £159,495.00. The location of the railway caused a fresh discussion, which ended in the placing of the branch from Truro to Pictou. The question of the dismissal of McLean, the Sheriff of Cumberland, caused the House to waste considerable time. The Government refusing to revise the *enquête*, was sustained merely by two votes. After having passed a Bill for the redistribution of the seats, in order to procure a more equal and just representation for the eighteen counties of the Province, the House adjourned on the 21st March, 1859, after a Session of seven weeks passed in irate discussions, and of a nature to render hopeless the reconciliation of the parties, the possibility of an understanding, or a reign of peace.

The time for a general election was badly chosen, owing to the excitement of the people. The majority, carried away by Mr Howe's declamation, was about to

overthrow the Johnston ministry, and to replace it by one from the ranks of his opponents. Responsible Government, with the respective positions of the parties in all the British North American Provinces, became a chimera, an impossibility. A remedy will come hereafter.

X

1860-61—RETURN OF THE LIBERALS—THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT.

Purposely did the Hon. Mr Howe raise up the people. The elections of 1859 brought both parties, in equal numbers, into the House. The Reformers, pretending to the majority, and ambitious of leaving the cold shades of the Opposition, solicited the Governor, in an address, to call the House together as soon as possible. In July of the same year, Dr Tupper notified the petitioners that the Governor could only accept advice from his responsible advisers. Thus the Governor remained strictly within the limits of the Constitution ; he held himself within the bounds assigned to England's representatives in the Colonies. Excitement grew apace throughout the country : Earl Mulgrave's conduct was differently looked upon. But a knowledge of the duties of the Queen's representative should suffice to convince any impartial man that the Governor did merely his duty. The Opposition grew impatient, the Ministry were still in hopes. The meeting of the House took place in January, 1860. Even before proceeding to the election of the Speaker, the First Minister declared that several Members had been elected by fraud, and had no claim to their seats. He denounced,

by name, every deputy so elected, although holding office under the Government, which in itself rendered their election null. They paid no attention to those representations, and this protest on the part of Mr Young ; sustained and encouraged by Mr Howe they retained their seats. This was a new source of vexation for the Province. There being no enactment in the Statutes regulating the question, they had to be received, with the right to disqualify them hereafter.

The left, strong in its compactness, elected Mr Stewart Campbell, its candidate, to the Speakership, by a majority of three votes, against Mr Wade, the Government candidate. A constitutional debate ensued, during which both sides showed great ability. Dr Tupper was indefatigable. The Ministry asked for an investigation into six elections, which they claimed to be void, but they were outvoted by a majority of two. The Governor, advised to dissolve the Parliament, refused to accept the Ministerial advice. The latter prepared a memorandum which they sent to England, and wherein they expressed their views on the question of those illegal elections. The English Attorney-General replied that the local House alone had the right to enquire into the legality or illegality of those elections ; yet the fraud was self-evident ! Was it necessary to hold a long investigation in order to send away from the House those who illegally held their places ? They were salaried officers of the Government whose resignations had not even been sent in. Lord Mulgrave did not think it proper to interfere, and the Provincial Secretary explained the points clearly in a series of questions presented to the English authorities. All in vain ! The remedy was useless, the majority of the House did not desire it. Under such circumstances the Ministry

had to resign, and the Opposition, composed of men of great ability, assumed the reins of Government.

The Hon. Mr Young was again called to form a new Administration. The Hon. Joseph Howe changed seats with his opponent and became Provincial Secretary. The Hon. Adams J. Archibald took the Department of Justice, Mr Jonathan McCully became Solicitor-General; to Mr John W. Anderson fell the position of Receiver-General, and Mr William Annand assumed the position of Financial-Secretary, the Treasurer of our time. Messrs Benjamin Weir and John Boake also took places in the Executive Council. Only the personages changed, the position remained the same. The Ministry scarcely born, confined itself to a few measures of general interest. The public attention was soon drawn from politics, the ideas of all being absorbed in the arrival of the Prince of Wales and the magnificent preparations and festivities set on foot by the Maritime Provinces.

On the 16th of July of the same year, Sir Brenton Halliburton, one of the old Counsellors of Nova Scotia, in his eighty-fifth year, disappeared from the scene. It was a cause of general mourning and sorrow, for Sir Brenton was a favorite in all the land. The festivities for the Prince of Wales were universal throughout Canada. At Montreal the Victoria Bridge was inaugurated, and the Prince laid the foundation stone of the new Parliament buildings in Ottawa. Many distinguished personages visited Canada that year, amongst others the Prince of Joinville, son of the ex-King Louis Philippe, also, the author of "*La France aux Colonies*"—the kind, sympathetic Mr Rameau. The Canadian Legislature sat at Quebec. George Brown frequently checked the Conservatives upon that ground. The respective positions of the

two parties were about the same all through the British American Provinces ;—a remedy will soon be required, and Dr Tupper will be the one to apply it.

The 31st January, 1861, saw both parties returned in about equal numbers. The Ministry, too weak to attempt any new movement, had to remain satisfied with the continuation of the works commenced by their predecessors. Mr Steward Campbell, the Speaker, having resigned, he was succeeded by Mr A. C. McDonald. The break up commenced. The nomination of Mr Young to the Chief-Judgeship precipitated the *dénoûment*. His place fell to the Hon. Joseph Howe. In announcing the news to the House the latter dropped a tear of remembrance. He had sat in the House since 1840, and many of his old friends had disappeared—Uniacke, Archibald, Herbert, Huntington and others were no more. With Moore he could gaze upon the loneliness around and say :

“ I feel like one who treads alone
Some banquet-hall deserted ;
Whose lights are fled, whose garlands dead,
And all but he departed.”

The Opposition did not allow itself to be dismayed by the violent will of the Government leader. The member for Cumberland rushed again into the maze of battle. He denounced the existence of the Ministry as illegal, since they were elected by a majority illegally elected themselves. He was so severe, vigorous, ardent, yet so logical, that the galleries had to be cleared in order to put an end to the plaudits that greeted the speaker. Mr Howe having no good reasons to oppose, made a witty and sarcastic reply. It did not suffice, the Ministry failed, the ground was evidently undermined. The Session passed in sallies,

the right ever flying, with the left in hot pursuit. The Address was, however, voted by a majority of five, after nine days of a memorable debate. The Hon. Messrs Johnston and Tupper made speeches that will ever remain famous. Never, perhaps, was the ex-Provincial Secretary more eloquent, better informed, and ready to answer all objections, and to uphold his assertions with more crushing proof. It was an ever rolling fire, a constant hail of Greek fire and bursts of thunder.

The total imports for the year amounted to \$8,055,439, and the revenue was very small. But talents are not measured in the scale of a country's importance. The discussions of the day, although passionate and often fruitless, indicated clearly that they were made by men used to the world, learned in politics, convinced of their own rectitude and animated with a desire to promote the best interests of a rising country. They might mistake the proper means, yet the object was laudable. Dr Tupper, who was the first to commence the siege, was the last on the ramparts, when at 4 p.m., on the 15th April, Lord Mulgrave came to prorogue the House. Then was inaugurated the equitable system of voting the supplies for the different works in contemplation. Communications were established between Cape Breton and Nova Scotia; the military system was established, and on the occasion of the death of the Duchess of Kent, mother of Queen Victoria, the House expressed its sympathy and renewed its sentiments of loyalty to the British Crown.

The Ministry made praiseworthy efforts to have the country represented at the London Exhibition of 1862, and success crowned their efforts; the Fruit Association, then formed, contributed greatly to this end. In that year, Mr Hugh W. Blackader, one of the oldest

journalists of the country, died. He had aided with all his might the movement for Constitutional Government. A learned man, he had an elastic mind, and, as the inspiring spirit of Mr Howe, he acquired considerable authority with his party. In 1863 the general elections took place. The Unionist party came out victorious. They resumed the governing power with the following Ministry :

Hon. J. W. Johnston, Attorney-General.

Hon. Chas Tupper, Provincial Secretary.

Hon. W. A. Henry, Solicitor-General.

Hon. James McNab, Receiver-General.

Hon. Isaac Leviscomte, Financial Secretary.

Hon. James McDonald (now Chief Justice of Nova Scotia), Commissioner of Railways.

Messrs W. W. John McKinnon, Alexander McFarlane and S. L. Shannon also took part in the Council.

At the election, the question of the Union of the Provinces came up. Dr Tupper, long since favorable to the movement, agitated the question. The struggle was lively. Once again the energy, activity and talent of the member for Cumberland were made manifest. Not satisfied with fighting in his own county, he was present at every weak spot. He over-ran the whole country with indefatigable energy ; and victory crowned his efforts. His friends were restored to power. Soon, more lively than ever, the great question of Confederation came up.

XI

THE SITUATION OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE BRITISH
NORTH AMERICAN POSSESSIONS IN 1864.

Although the Cartier-Macdonald Administration had done much for the country in important measures, such as the Judicial decentralization, the codification of the Civil Laws ; the purchase of Seigniorial Rights, the association of the Criminal and Commercial Laws, &c., still in 1862 they were obliged to give place to the Liberal Administration of McDonald-Sicotte. The choice of the Capital, the favors given to the Grand Trunk and their Militia Bill rendered them unpopular. The new party, which had long preached the doctrine of Dual Representation, though having got into power, could not carry it out. The negotiations on the subject of the Intercolonial Railway between the delegates of the Maritime Provinces and the Metropolis drew about the resignation of the Hon. A. A. Derion ; he thought the country unable to bear the burthen of such an undertaking. His withdrawal weakened considerably the Ministry. The *Aylward* affair, the abandonment of the principle of double majorities on the subject of separate schools, the diminution of grants to agricultural societies and hospitals, caused the public to lose confidence. An adverse vote in the House caused the Government to change its members, which was done on the 16th May, 1863. Elections having taken place, the parties came back numerically the same. The Sicotte

motion, alleging that the Ministry was formed in violation of the principle of double majority, thus placing Lower Canada in peril, was a fatal stroke to the Cabinet, which was saved merely by a majority of three votes. In 1864, they were called upon to resign their portfolios, and make room for the Taché-Macdonald Administration and the subsequent coalition with George Brown.

Responsible Government scarcely did any better in the smaller Provinces. In New Brunswick the spoils were disputed with a vengeance. But the public spirit, commercial in its movements, ardently desired to be united with the West by an iron road. Since 1845, the English Government, pushed on by the Colonies, had sent Major Robinson to study the measure. He made a report in favor of the Northern route, and estimated that the enterprise would cost five millions. The *Colonial Office* refused to grant the loan, and agitation recommenced wilder than ever in New Brunswick. The country was divided into two camps ; it was the epoch of the "war of routes." The Northern counties upheld the Robinson line, the Southern counties advocated a line along the St. John's River, going towards Canada after passing over United States ground. Howe opposed the latter project most forcibly. His eloquence prevailed with Lord Gray, who advised Lord Elgin, then Governor-General of Canada, to invite the delegates of each Province to Toronto, there to come to an understanding upon the subject of the Intercolonial Railway. New Brunswick refused to take part in the conference. The one at Halifax was no more successful in the inauguration of Responsible Government than that in 1855 ; there, like elsewhere, were to be found petty squabbles of private interest. They quarrelled about the expenses of judges, the political appointments, &c. They

were still in the infant age of their Parliamentary life. Peter Mitchell Wilmot, J. W. Ritchie, and Sir Leonard Tilley fought in the front ranks. The parties being almost equal, no important measures could be arrived at, but they satisfied themselves with little skirmishes. A new era was dawning, a larger horizon extending before and around the Provinces of British North America. In Prince Edward Island things were scarcely better. There the land tenure was the cause of bother, their system was wrong. It was not unlike the one in Ireland. Efforts were made to get hold of the successions of Warrell and Selkirk. A Commission composed of Messrs Howe, Gray and Ritchie was named by the different interested parties. Their report, although very elaborate and approved of by the Local Legislature, did not receive the Imperial sanction. This opened the way to much agitation. It was under Sir Dominick Daly, successor to Governor Bannerman, and father of Mr Daly the present distinguished member in the House of Commons, that Charlottetown was incorporated, that the Normal School was opened, and the Census taken in 1855. The population of the Island was not quite seventy-one thousand in number. The parties being equal in the House, the only remedy was an appeal to the people, and the Palmer-Gray Administration was the result. But as the Catholics were excluded from it, discontentment went on, until the project of the Confederation of all the Provinces silenced all sectional animosities and petty interests. The magnitude of the project dazzled the people, and its greatness absorbed everything. All other projects were silenced in order to devote attention to this immense idea, already well broached in the Legislature of Nova Scotia.

XII

DR TUPPER AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Towards the end of 1863, Lord Mulgrave was replaced by Major-General Doyle, Administrator *pro tempore*, and under him Parliament assembled on the 4th February, 1864. The Speech from the Throne suggested that a conference of the three Maritime Provinces be held in order to come to a final understanding. One of the principal measures was the Education Bill, framed by the Hon. Provincial Secretary. If a similar measure had been adopted in New Brunswick, we might not have seen later on so many iniquitous abuses and hateful persecutions which degrade a party and dishonor a people. Dr Tupper, in drawing up this law, showed his practical ideas and great desire to avoid hurting the feelings of any class; it will ever be one of his best claims upon the gratitude of the Province. This measure caused popular education to take an immense stride. However, it was regretted that more liberty was not given to the minority, that they might create schools according to their views and religion. The practice surpassed the theory, thanks to the good spirit that animated the Nova Scotians. Could Dr Tupper have done more? To fully understand the measure and its importance, just cast a glance over the history of Nova Scotia, with her divisions, her differently composed

classes, and the crying injustices of which for so long the unfortunate Acadians had been the victims. After the iniquitous dispersion of that unfortunate people, who were cast pell-mell upon foreign ships and transported far from all dear to them, separated one from the other, a certain number (some 5,000 with those who fled to the woods), succeeded in regaining their country by walking and begging their daily food ! Thus had they crossed over fifteen hundred miles to see their deserted fields and desolated hearths ! What a charm there is in the spot that gave us birth ! The more a country suffers the more its children love it ! Is not love built on sacrifice ? Is not the test of affection a tear ? There is nothing so hard to bear as unmerited exile, and the Acadians, rather than submit to it, were chased like wild beasts, hunted like criminals, banished from their homes, and despoiled of their goods. For all this, they still came back ! For five years, they dwelt in the depths of the forest, living on roots and wild fruit, but bravely bore up against their persecution. Little by little they approached the habitations of men, and mixed in the crowd. The Government felt ashamed to persecute them further ; they were let alone. By degrees these banished people took their lost ground, but without all the rights of a free people. History will place a stigma, as yet unknown to them, upon the executioners of Acadia's children, — Lawrence, Moysten and Boscowen. The Acadians grew numerous with that rapidity only to be found amongst virtuous races. Only in Nova Scotia they number already 40,000 souls. Despised if not persecuted, unable to keep schools according to their desires, these people are forced to struggle with energy to preserve themselves and conserve their morals, religion and language. Dr Tupper had

no prejudices against them—he cut out certain restrictions in the School Bill. Every citizen was to enjoy the same benefits and participate in the same liberties. The shackles of faith no longer clung to them, there was to be no more proscription on account of creed, nationality or language, the Education Bill placing all citizens on the same footing, and ranking them in the same category. All were satisfied with the law, with the exception of one enactment. The Catholics who lived in a parish of their own, had all their revenues applied to their own schools, but those who were scattered amongst the other sects, had to see their children grow up in ignorance or send them to schools indifferent as to religion. This was the evil side of that famous law, which, in practice, was even better, owing to the great tolerance of the people. It is to be regretted that this Bill was not at once sanctioned, and separate schools established, as Upper Canada had just done, and as Lower Canada had long since given the example. It would have put a final end to all dissatisfaction on the subject. A tolerant and just spirit prevailed in Nova Scotia.

Since then a number of convents appeared, and girls from the highest circles in English society were sent to them for instruction. These ladies brought home a clearer idea of things, and less fanatical prejudices, and to-day the representatives of the many denominations no longer look upon each other as enemies in Nova Scotia. Would to heaven New Brunswick had followed the example! The Provincial Secretary caught at a glance all the consequences of the act, all the deductions from the principle. He saw clearly! He has a large mind, capable of conception and action. The recriminations of hatred affect him not, so should all wise men look upon politics.

Those school reforms were more than urgent, they were of absolute necessity. In fact, in a population of over three hundred thousand, of more than five years old, the one-fourth could neither read nor write ! Among eighty-three thousand children, from five to fifteen years, thirty-six thousand could not read ! Only thirty-one thousand went to school in 1863. Thus fifty-two thousand children grew up in ignorance, in the full light of this the nineteenth century ! And yet we boast of our progress ! The new School Bill was a remedy for this sad state of affairs. By furnishing an equitable means for the division and collection of the taxes, and giving them to the poor as well as the rich, by overturning the existing system, by building schools in the remotest parts of the country, it became an immense benefit and revolutionized the country in the proper way—the way of light, intellectual progress and morality. This happy result was due, in great part, to the member for Cumberland. History will yet do him justice on that point. To do that which will produce the most good should be the guide of every true statesman.

XIII

PROJECT OF THE UNION OF THE MARITIME PROVINCES.

It was said that Responsible Government in the Provinces was impossible, the political parties being almost equally divided. A series of malicious discontent and constant troubles were the consequences. Too many elections, one after another, was a cause of unbridled corruption. Demoralization slipped in everywhere, and election agents became a social plague. The different tariffs between the Provinces, the different prices of goods, made it desirable to have a change that would develop the resources and advance the general commercial interests of the land. The Confederation idea was not a new one. The United States had put it into practice more than a century ago upon our continent, and it gave general satisfaction. In Canada it was long dreamed of, and many remarkable writings were made upon it, so that public opinion was not taken unawares. Dr Tupper worked up the project all over Nova Scotia, by long and eloquent speeches, lectures, &c. Indefatigable and strong in health, in the vigor of his age, he waged a powerful war against the adversaries of his favorite undertaking. Mr Howe was none the less active. The meeting of those two men was ever the occasion of eloquent tournaments. Those who witnessed these struggles assert they never heard

anything so attractive and powerful ; it was the golden age of Nova Scotia's eloquence. The press was the echo of those public discussions. Before coming to the discussion of the Confederation question, the House, on the 28th March, 1864, on a motion by Dr Tupper, without a division, adopted the proposition of sending to Charlottetown delegates to confer on the means most proper to bring about the Union of the Maritime Provinces. This called forth splendid debates in the Legislative Assembly. Those for and against, were principally Hon. Mr Johnston and Dr Tupper, Messrs Shannon, Miller (member of the Canadian Senate), James McDonald (now Chief-Justice), Mr McFarlane, C. J. Campbell, Longley, Hamilton, Churchill, Killam and Tobin. To name these men is to say that this important subject was taken upon all its phases and treated as fully as could be desired. Having found the project of the Union of the three Provinces had the cordial support of the House, the Hon. Provincial Secretary gave an eloquent *resumé* of all that had been said on this great question, and concluded by saying, that, not the Union but the *reunion* of the Provinces was sought for. St. John's Island or Prince Edward Island was united to Acadia in 1763, but in 1771 was separated in order to form a special Government on account of the difficulty of communication. New Brunswick also separated in 1784 from Nova Scotia. But those causes of disunion had vanished. A Confederation of all the Provinces was desirable ; but, for the time being, it could not be dreamt of on account of the rivalry between the two great sections of Canada. Yet the condition of the country could soon be changed so as to form or necessitate a more intimate connection between those British Possessions north of the United States. The civil war going on in the States, might have

disastrous consequences for us. So far the rivalry between the slave and anti-slavery parties was a protection for us. If victorious, who could prevent the North from sending her legions against us, in order to revenge herself on England that was ever opposed to them. If defeated, would vengeance not prompt them to snatch from the North what they lost in the South, and still come down on us ?

“ The House will see that if the subject of a Union with Canada were even in contemplation, no wiser step could take place than the Union of the Maritime Provinces in the first instance. Hostile as I believe the sentiment of Canada is at the present time to a union with the Maritime Provinces, the day is not far distant when it will be for the interest of both to unite ; and Canada will, I have no doubt, seek in that union the solution of those difficulties that are now found insuperable in the Government of the country. These Provinces, I am proud to know, will present a sufficient area, population and resources to exercise no small amount of influence in the scale between the two sections in which Canada is divided. They would find in the Maritime Provinces that which they seek for in vain in their own country—that is, a united people, divided by no sectional antagonism and embarrassed by no separate system of jurisprudence. They would find a country in which civil and religious liberty is enjoyed by all, and in which I am happy to know there exists no hostility between the different races or religions.

“ We would present a country to their view that might be united in a common bond of Union with Canada—a union which is essential to the solution of the diffi-

“culties that now divide the two great sections of that Province. This Union when required will be, as I have said, more easy of accomplishment when these Maritime Provinces are united, than at present.” (Debates 1864, p. 181.)

The eloquent speaker showed the inconvenience of the different tariffs and the difficulty they created in the commerce of the Provinces ; what a *prestige* would have a united people, numbering 500,000, and scattered over a territory of 50,000 square acres ; what an influence they would have in Europe where Governments are so restricted in their power. Public confidence would be increased, foreign capital flow in, legislative expenses would diminish, and the colonies would rise to that position which God and nature designated for them amongst the nations of the world. Then he made the following proposition identical with that proposed by the New Brunswick Legislature :

“*Resolved*,—That His Excellency the Administrator of the Government be requested to appoint delegates (not to exceed five), to confer with such delegates as may be appointed by the Governments of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, for the purpose of arranging the preliminary plan for the Union of the three Provinces under one Government and one Legislature, such Union to take effect when confirmed by the Legislative enactments of the various Provinces interested, and finally approved of by Her Majesty the Queen.”

Already, on the 15th April, 1861, the Nova Scotia Legislature, taking the lead, had sanctioned a motion asking the Colonial Secretary to communicate with the dif-

ferent Provinces with the view of bringing about a union. On the 6th July, 1862, the Duke of Newcastle replied, that the measure would be favorably looked upon in England, but that the initial step should be taken by the Provinces concerned.

In awaiting the Charlottetown conference, the Nova Scotia House continued its labors until the prorogation on the 10th May, 1864. Many important measures were passed. Amongst those we may mention : The consolidation and revision of the statutes, the creation of a court of equity, the enregistration of marriage contracts, births and deaths, the protection of the fisheries in the rivers, the administration of the gold and coal mines, the amendment of the militia laws, the education bill, and the act for the extension of railways ; that of Pictou was the cause of a lively debate, in which twenty-eight members participated. The opponents of the member for Cumberland accused him of taking advantage of his position in the ministry to make money at the expense of the Province ! Fortunately for Dr Tupper that accusation could never be proved ; otherwise it would have sufficed to check his future brilliant career ! If we want to be severe upon those men who, without conscience or honor, make an abuse of their position in order to serve their private interests, we should also judge them with great reserve and with only irrefutable proofs. Human malignity attacks men in accordance as they rise to dignity, rank or influence ! Too often, contemporary criticism, as in the days of the Greeks, destroys the dove but spares the raven ! However, Dr Tupper always met those accusations with the most emphatic denials. He remained in the breach, without a thought of evading the discussion on this or any other subject. The guilty generally acts otherwise.

The grand Convention at Charlottetown was fixed for the 1st September, 1864. The event created a sensation, England became interested in it, Canada, that had seen four Administrations in less than three years, began to have a glimmer of hope, an expectation of extrication from its complex position.

Although advanced in years and not desirous of again mixing in politics, Sir Paschal Etienne Taché consented, in 1864, at the request of Lord Monck (after the failure of Mr Ferguson Blair to form a coalition Government), to form another Administration. His party was united! Messrs Chapais, Alleyne and Abbott, having refused to enter the Blair Cabinet, united with the new Chief on the 14th June. On motion by Mr Dorion, censuring the Government for having neglected to regulate the \$100,000 loan made by Mr Galt to the city of Montreal in 1859, the Ministry, owing to the defection of Mr Dunkin and Mr Rankin, were in a minority of two votes. The Governor favored the prorogation of the House, but owing to the Hon. George Brown being ambitious to enter the Cabinet, the prorogation did not take place. Upper Canada still desired representation *pro rata* of the population; Lower Canada was opposed to self destruction, so it was thought on all sides, that Confederation being the only remedy, it was advisable that the measure should be submitted next session. It received the support of a great number of the Liberals. By that time it was known that the Charlottetown conference was to take place. Canada asked to be admitted into it, and this request was granted.

XIV

CHARLOTTETOWN AND THE QUEBEC CONVENTIONS—SUBSEQUENT FESTIVITIES.

The long looked-for day arrived. It was the first of September, 1864. The old Island of St. John was all a blaze in the brilliancy of its festive preparations. The capital was all astir—the vessels in the harbor, displaying their many colored flags and decorations, presented a grand picture ; from the highest spires and domes of the public edifices the banners floated in the gentle breeze. An immense concourse gathered in the city, and joy prevailed everywhere ; everything betokening something about to occur beyond the ordinary. A peaceful revolution was about to give birth to a new world ! The future of half the American continent was about to be decided upon. This was the commencement of a series of festivities given by the representatives of the different Provinces. This was the preparation for the Quebec Convention, which was the base, the keystone of the grand structure of Confederation ; hence therefore its importance ! The delegation was composed of the most celebrated men of the Provinces. It was the most important political assembly the country had yet seen. Nova Scotia sent the Honorables Dr Charles Tupper, W. A. Henry, Robert Barry Dickie, Jonathan McCully, and Adams J. Archibald. The Hon. Messrs

Tilley, John W. Johnston, Gray, Chandler and Steeves represented New Brunswick. The Honorables Colonel Gray, Ed. Palmer, Mr Pope, George Coles and A. McDonald came from Prince Edward Island. Canada sent a number of its most prominent men, amongst whom were the Honorables J. A. Macdonald, G. E. Cartier, Geo. Brown, Hector L. Langevin, A. T. Galt, Wm. McDougall and Thomas D'Arcy McGee, all members of the Taché-Macdonald Cabinet. Although the latter took no part in the debates, yet they proposed a plan of a union on a more extensive scale than the one in view. The basis of the Quebec Convention was there laid. A grand banquet was given on the 8th of September to the delegates, under the presidency of the Hon. Col. Gray, First Minister of the Island Government. It was a grand success ; eloquent and patriotic speeches were made at it. Dr Tupper was one of the speakers. Happy the country where the greatest of political and constitutional changes are effected whilst tranquilly seated at a princely banquet-table !

The Charlottetown festivals were followed by those of Halifax and St. John, N.B., with a perfect series of oratorical tournaments, in which life and gayety were not wanting. Our delegates came home charmed with their reception. Who would ever have doubted that those " children of the mist," from the foggy shores of the Atlantic, would be otherwise than amiable ? The fogs arising from the Thames make John Bull morose ! You must change your climate if you wish to change your humor, say the philosophers ; but they are now, as they were then, mistaken. Canada awaited with anxious impatience the opportunity to discuss the new project of the grand Confederation of all the British North American Provinces. Although some were opposed to it, many desired it, and preferred the

change to the Union of 1841. The position of the United Canadas had become impossible to maintain. The Government could no longer act, the political economy of the two sections being so different. The coalition of Mr Brown had paved the way to further negotiations. The mission of the Canadian delegates to the Maritime Provinces contributed to prepare the minds of the people. A great movement was set on foot ; a new life was to be given to Canada.

The 10th of October, 1864, will for ever remain memorable in our history. That day the old city of Champlain held within its ancient walls the fathers of Confederation. The Canadian Ministry formed a great portion thereof. The united delegation was composed of the following persons :

For Canada :

Sir Etienne P. Taché, Premier.

Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Attorney-Gen. West.

“ G. E. Cartier, Attorney-Gen. East.

“ Wm. McDougall, Provincial Secretary.

“ George Brown, President of Executive Council.

“ A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance.

“ Oliver Mowatt, Postmaster-General.

“ Hector L. Langevin, Solicitor-Gen. East.

“ James Cockburn, Solicitor-Gen. West.

“ T. D'Arcy McGee, Minister of Agriculture.

“ J. C. Chapais, Commissioner of Public Works.

For Nova Scotia :

Hon. Dr C. Tupper, Provincial Secretary.

“ W. A. Henry, Attorney-General.

“ R. A. Dickey.

Hon. Jonathan McCully.

“ A. G. Archibald.

For New Brunswick :

Hon. S. L. Tilley, Provincial Secretary.

“ John M. Johnson, Attorney-General.

“ Peter Mitchell.

“ Charles Fisher.

“ W. F. Steeves.

“ John H. Gray.

For Prince Edward Island :

Hon. Col. Gray, Premier.

“ Ed. Palmer, Attorney-General.

“ Mr Pope, Provincial Secretary.

“ George Coles.

“ F. Heath Haviland.

“ A. A. McDonald.

These men had mostly all occupied important political positions in their respective Provinces. It was to a certain extent the Areopagus of the North, the recognized Chiefs of the different Provinces assembled. They were there united to perform the legitimate work of consolidating a grand nation, casting the foundations of a great country, laying the basis of a lasting edifice. What other nations had performed through blood and rapine, was accomplished in peaceful contest amidst great rejoicings and brilliant festivals. The leader of the Canadian Cabinet was chosen to preside at the Assembly. The Provincial Secretaries were named Honorary Secretaries, and Major Hewitt Bernard acted as official Secretary.

Learned and eloquent addresses were delivered on that

memorable occasion, but it is not within the limits of a biography that they could be given or even analysed. Moreover, to do them full justice it would be necessary to devote to them an entire volume. Banquet followed banquet, dinner followed dinner, ball followed ball. The cities of Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto imitating their elder sister, desired to extend their cordial hospitality to the distinguished guests sent by the Maritime Provinces. It was an uninterrupted succession of banquets, feasts and addresses. Light-heartedness was universal, and political partizans mixed together like the dancers in a quadrille. A veil was drawn over the past, the present was enjoyed, and confidence placed in the future. Those who, up to then were called life-enemies, now called each other brothers ! The war-hatchet was buried, and the cordial " shake-hands " was given. They thought they had found the panacea for all ills and all party divisions ; it was an hour of universal joy. Even those who did not approve of the project, set themselves to study it and found the necessity of a change ; man prefers the unknown to a *status in quo*. The Hon. Mr Dorion, who did not like the idea of Confederation as propounded at the Quebec Conference, had to admit, even in 1860, that the actual state of things could not last. He said : " I look on the Union of Upper and Lower Canada as the first step to the grand Confederation of all the British North American Provinces, that is to be so much desired." In 1859, the Liberal Chiefs of Lower Canada had declared in a celebrated manifesto : " That it seemed that the only alternative that presented itself to the people of Lower Canada was either a dissolution of the Union and a Confederation on the one hand, or representation based on population on the other." Consequently there was really no antagonism

to the project. The delegates drew out the form of the Constitution which has governed us since the first of July, 1867. We know what splendid debates preceded it in the House of Commons. These events are within the range of contemporaneous history, the present generation has not yet forgotten them. The work of Confederation is yet too recent, to allow us to judge it with that historical impartiality which it deserves. Time is a great master : it corrects, adds to, takes from, and rectifies. That grand movement leads us on to another which posterity may style "*Independence*." We must be satisfied with the conclusions of the principles laid down. In this age of agitation and social disturbances, who can rely upon the morrow? The old world set upon a volcanic crater may fly up at any hour! Dynamite in close proximity to a fuse is dangerous! Such is the last reasoning of brutal violence against the impotent right that would destroy itself. Woe to the people on account of their crimes!

In answer to the toast proposed on the 15th October, by the President, at the banquet given by the Chamber of Commerce in Quebec, to "the Delegates of the Maritime Provinces," the head of that delegation, Dr Tupper, made a lengthy and interesting reply. Thanking Canada for having given such a cordial reception to her sister Provinces, and for rendering the trip so agreeable to the delegates, the orator excused himself as being unable to adequately treat, before such an audience, the most important question ever submitted to the country since the day, when, on the Plains of Abraham, an immortal struggle decided the destinies of British America. The subject was grand, but had been so often considered and so well discussed by our most distinguished men, that it became

difficult and no longer new or interesting. Our Government system was to be radically changed. The movement is so important that it is necessary to have all unite in its consideration, above all the Maritime Provinces who, though knowing but little about it then, would bring their share of strength, labor, prosperity and resources :

“ It is true,” said Dr Tupper, “ you have a magnificent country, embracing an immense territorial area ; it is true you have a comparatively large population of 3,000,000 ; it is true you have land teeming with inexhaustible resources on every hand ; but as was observed by your able and talented minister, Mr Cartier, great as is your country, large as is your population, inexhaustible as are your resources, the Maritime Provinces have something equally as essential to the formation of a great nation.

“ We shall bring into the Federation with Canada a territorial area of 50,000 or 60,000 square miles, and an additional population of 800,000 souls, which will foster the manufacturing interests of Canada.

“ We shall bring a revenue to the common purse, of something like \$3,000,000 ; and when I tell you that Nova Scotia has something like doubled her revenue within the last six years, you will understand that we do not require a Union with Canada to draw from her resources. We would add to the general trade our \$35,000,000 of exports and imports.

“ Your mighty St. Lawrence is but an imperfect highway, inasmuch as it is closed to all commerce some five months in the year, not to speak of the humiliating position in which this great country is left when you feel that you are dependent upon a foreign, if not a rival state for access to the ocean.”

After having alluded to the great Intercolonial Railway scheme, and the inexhaustible wealth of the Fisheries, Dr Tupper added :

“ You will find a vast country occupied by as valuable
“ coal fields as are to be found on the surface of the
“ earth. You will find iron mines in the Province of
“ Nova Scotia which, in quality, will successfully rival
“ the finest Swedish iron. You will find iron and coal
“ associated with limestone.

“ In fact, you will find, in Nova Scotia, all those chief
“ natural characteristics which have made Great Britain
“ the greatest commercial mart of the world. There are
“ also our gold mines, at present very remunerative though
“ not yet fully developed.

“ But Confederation would do more, it would bring
“ what is dearer still—freedom and safety.”

To show how England would be affected by the loss of her colonies, and to explain the feeling in the mother-country upon the question, the orator made it clear that the Union alone could save us from the dangers of a like stroke or from any foreign invasion, and consequently we should co-operate the more with the British Government ; for we have still greater interest than they in the matter. The Hon. Provincial Secretary from Nova Scotia concluded by expressing his satisfaction to see united, upon that memorable occasion, the leaders of the different parties who disputed between themselves, in the divers sections of the land, for power and supremacy. And he told them of the hopes the people had based upon the foundation of the great work they had in contemplation. Messrs. Tilley, Gray, Taché and Galt spoke in a like strain. The reader will pardon the synopsis of the speech here given, for, in truth, it seemed the skeleton of that theme which

was to occupy the first place in all the succeeding struggles in the Maritime Provinces during the three years immediately following the passing of the British North America Act.

XV

1865 TO 1866—RETURN OF THE LEGISLATURE TO THE
FORMER PROJECT OF UNION BETWEEN THE MARITIME
PROVINCES.

Dr Tupper having become First Minister of the Province, since the elevation of the Hon. Mr Johnston to the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Court of Equity, did not remain inactive. On his return to Nova Scotia, he began a lively agitation in favor of Confederation. The Legislative Assembly having been in session since the 9th February, 1865, was occupied with this question which was mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. A great meeting was held at Halifax after the return of the deputation from Quebec. Messrs Tupper, McCully and Archibald there expressed their views on the proposed Confederation. Messrs W. Stairs, A. G. Jones, W. Annand, W. Miller and P. Power also held a counter-assembly. On both sides the struggle was going to be lively. Lord Monck hastened to communicate to the Colonial Office the resolutions passed at the Quebec Assembly. Mr Cardwell answered that England favored them. In February, 1865, the Canadian Parliament voted for Confederation by a majority of fifty-eight—91 to 33—after the most celebrated oratorical struggle ever known in the Legislative halls. But New Brunswick fresh from an election, sent to the House a majority adverse to Con-

federation ; Nova Scotia was thereby forced to modify her views, and to return to the project of a Union of the Maritime Provinces only. Consequently, on the 10th of April, the Hon. Provincial Secretary proposed a motion to that effect. He supported it with one of his ablest speeches. Reviewing all the phases through which the question of the union of those Provinces had passed in the larger one of Confederation, Dr Tupper shewed, with great force, the advantage of such a measure : he explained the principle which should be its basis, the benefits the people would derive, and the dangers of the present state of affairs on account of the extraordinary events then taking place in the United States. But owing to the decision in New Brunswick, he was obliged to confine himself to the mere union of the Maritime Provinces.

This speech, replete with science, patriotism and eloquence, was one of the best he ever delivered. It will form for ever, one of the most splendid pages in the Parliamentary history of Nova Scotia. It is a monument worthy of a place in the annals of Confederation. It was a calm, sincere, yet firm plea in favor of the proposed changes. Dr Tupper was dignified and far less sarcastic than was his wont. He felt that the future of his Province depended upon it. And this famous address reverberated not only throughout Nova Scotia, but even in England's colonies. The papers reproduced it, and the public commented upon it. It was *the* event of the session. Mr Archibald seconded the Union motion.

Mr Annand, in opposing the measure, delivered a speech remarkable for its depth, force and the ability with which it was made. He also, was an able and well-informed man. Mr Miller supported him. Finally, on the 17th April, Mr Killam gave a *résumé* of the debate, and the House,

after having heard Messrs McLean, Le Vesconte, Shannon, Bourinot, McFarlane and Locke speak either for or against, approved of the project without any division. This discussion, which occupied the largest space in that parliamentary debate, was one of the brightest and most instructive of the period. It revealed the talents, the knowledge, the aptitude of many men who have since occupied prominent and important positions in the political sphere, destined to expand under Confederation.

Although a number of important laws were framed and sanctioned during that session, the paramount question was, the union of the Maritime Provinces. On the occasion of the horrible murder, by J. W. Booth, of Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, on the 14th April, 1865, the Legislature adjourned out of respect to the memory of that great friend of American slave emancipation. In the same year, at Montreal, took place the trial of the young Confederate soldiers, under the presidency of the Hon. J. O. Coursol, the present M. P. for Montreal East. These young soldiers were commanded by Lieutenant B. Young, who, in 1864, perpetrated one of the most audacious attacks on the St. Albans (Vt.) banks. The judgment rendered by the Hon. Mr Coursol excited the anger of the Americans to a considerable degree. This danger opened the eyes of New Brunswick. "Coming events cast their shadows before them." Providence has its hidden designs, its mysterious dispensations! "Man proposes, but God disposes." It was written that Confederation should take place.

What a strange contrast was the sudden change that took place in New Brunswick in favor of Confederation, in a parliament composed of men who were elected a year previous to oppose the project—what happened? Had

Messrs Tilley, Mitchell and Wilmot, so electrified the House that its power of will disappeared ?

After the defeat of the advocates of Confederation in New Brunswick, a defeat that surprised Tilley, Wilmot, Fisher, and every political leader in the country ; Governor Gordon, who was not always in sympathy with the Cabinet, having received from England an order to press the matter on Parliament and to have a Confederation Act passed, conferred with the Hon. Mr Mitchell, then a member of the Legislative Council. The latter agreed to support the project. Notwithstanding that Mr Smith, the leader of the Government was adverse to the project, he consented to its being referred to in the speech from the throne. However, forty days of the session passed before the Premier brought on the question. The Governor recommended him to resign, and the Mitchell-Tilley-Wilmot administration was formed. An election took place, and the people elected the Confederation party by a sweeping majority.

Thus those very electors who had lately rejected the idea of Confederation, in a few months sanctioned it by their votes. The people govern the land ! Happy illusion !

Politics often display sudden reverses, with Pandora-gifts, with inexplicable and often unjustifiable surprises. Yet, how highly is responsible Government appreciated ! The people are the direct source of power ! The people really believe that they govern ! Oh happy illusion : imagination plays its part in it.

The real truth is that but only a few men govern the land ; the remainder follow in their footsteps ! It requires but a short examination of our parliamentary debates to find this out. Fortunately the electors scarcely ever assist at the debates.

Thus had the pivot of Confederation in the Maritime Provinces, New Brunswick itself, set aside all obstacles. It was the only Province wherein the people were called upon to pronounce upon the question.

This circumstance gave the First Minister of Nova Scotia a chance to return to his former project. Thus, on the 10th April, 1860, he placed before the House the following Resolution. "Seeing that it is the opinion of this House that a Confederation of the British North American Provinces be formed, be it resolved that His Excellency the Governor in Council be authorized to send to England certain delegates to confer with the Imperial Government upon a project destined to be the safeguard of the interests of each Province."

A most interesting, able and animated debate followed. Mr Howe, the indefatigable opponent of the Prime Minister, was not satisfied with opposing the project of Confederation in the House and in the large assemblies throughout Nova Scotia, where his lively expression, warm enthusiasm, powerful voice, and happy style always left the deepest impressions, but he even determined to visit the land beyond the sea, and there promulgate his ideas. Fighting to the last the proposed Union, he succeeded in creating doubts in the minds of many as to the opportune occasion of such a change. Influential papers upheld him and he gained some ground. His pamphlet against Confederation brought him many supporters. Without his old adversary's activity, he had his ability and depth. Despite his multifarious Government duties, Dr Tupper crossed to England, and there strove to disabuse the public mind of the views emanating from Mr Howe, and to reassure the public mind upon the importance of the contemplated measure. Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George E. Cartier and Messrs

Brown and Galt also crossed in 1865, in order to confer with the Imperial Government as to the basis of the new Confederation, the Intercolonial Railway question, the North-West Territory, the defence of the country, and other important matters. Shortly after their return, on the 20th July, Sir Etienne P. Taché, one of the most honest of political men, was carried off by the hand of death. Judge Morin soon followed. A year previous, Sir Louis H. Lafontaine had taken precedence in his flight. Sir Narcisse Belleau replaced Sir Etienne P. Taché as First Minister. Mr Brown refused to serve under his former colleagues, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier. Under Sir Narcisse Belleau, the House met on the 8th August, for the second time in 1865, to receive the report of the delegates and vote the subsidies. The visit made by these statesmen to England and the threatened invasion—by some fifteen hundred Fenians collected under Colonel O'Neill on the frontiers of New York, who planned a descent on Upper Canada—soon opened the eyes of the *Colonial Office* officials. Circumstances favored Dr Tupper. He could quickly judge of the situation: he saw all in the twinkling of an eye. The best means to destroy Mr Howe's hold upon the calm and reflecting English mind, was to stand in contradistinction to him, to show the variances and inconsistencies of his career. Such was the undertaking of Nova Scotia's delegate. With that object in view, in October 1866, he wrote his famous letter to Lord Carnarvon. It was one of the most cogent pleas, in favor of the movement, yet brought forth. The argument was close, the style clear, the thoughts powerful. Mr Howe's arguments were piteously demolished yet without evincing any personal animosity. This famous composition placed its author in a new light: he revealed

himself as a solid writer, an able polemist and learned historian. This letter was not merely an historical *résumé* of the Confederation, but it painted all its advantages in glowing colors. It was circulated throughout England, the Press favorably commented upon it: its author acquired a new confidence which aided him in bringing to a happy issue the great undertaking for which he had fought so long and so earnestly. Dr Tupper concluded his crushing answer to Mr Howe by expressing an earnest hope, "That a policy alike demanded by the best interests of the British Provinces and of the Parent State, may meet with the approval of Her Majesty's Ministers and obtain the sanction of the Imperial Parliament: and that a United British America may, under the ægis of Great Britain, rapidly advance to the position among the nations of the earth, indicated by her great natural resources and the indomitable character of the race from which her people are sprung."

Mr Howe intending to raise the fanaticism of the readers of his pamphlet against Confederation, used the most violent expressions against the Canadians, representing them as backward, divided, disloyal, factious and unsubmitive to the law! Dr Tupper's letter to Lord Carnarvon did full justice to those false assertions — the Canadians were well defended in it. He wrote—

"That certain parties in Canada carried to an extreme length their struggles for constitutional privileges, which have since been frankly conceded, must be admitted; but the charge of disloyalty has been disproved of by her whole history. So long ago as 1776 the overtures of Franklin, Chase and Carroll, sent by the revolting States to induce the Canadians to abandon their allegiance to the British crown, proved unsuccessful; and their emissaries had to

return home discomfited. These diplomatic efforts were followed by hostile armies led by Arnold and Montgomery, two of the ablest of American Generals, whom, with but a handful of soldiers sent from England to assist them, the Canadians successfully resisted, raised the Siege of Quebec and recaptured Montreal. The struggles of 1812, 1813 and 1814, when Canada was attacked at every point, again proved the indomitable courage and loyalty of Canadians, who, unheeding the specious allurements held out to them, met and drove back the enemies of England, and 'Canada was once more saved to the Empire' as his Grace the Duke of Wellington has so emphatically asserted. A glance at what has since been achieved will enable your Lordship to estimate the value of Mr Howe's opinion of the public men of Canada. The records of the Legislature of the country show that Parliamentary Reform and the registration of voters have been secured ; a system of municipal institutions of the most advanced character established, education, both in the higher departments, and as regards the common schools of the country, provided by enactments which Mr Howe throughout his public career did his best in vain to adopt in Nova Scotia : the Clergy Reserve question, fraught with immense difficulties has been effectually settled, and the system of feudal tenure abolished ; while the simplification and codification of their laws have given them statute books of which any country might justly be proud. Their population has increased from 1,842,165 in 1851, to 2,506,056 in 1861 ! ”

Space compels us to stop here ! It is the more to be regretted, since the country so seldom finds men who can defend its interests so well, above all before Europe. By this earnest and judicious defense Dr Tupper earned a new

claim to the gratitude of Canadians. Obligated to return home to attend to the duties of the Session of 1867, the Prime Minister lost not a moment. On the very opening of the House the project of Confederation was made the subject of debate. The debate was long, eloquent, often bitter, but always able and clever. The Chief of the Cabinet proposed the measure, clearly explained his ideas, and triumphantly walked over all objections. He wound up his fine address with an attractive and prophetic peroration: "I ask gentlemen opposite to weigh carefully the opinions which American Statesmen have expressed in respect of this measure of Confederation, and ask themselves whether they are justified in pursuing a policy antagonistic to the establishment of institutions which are not only going to make us prosperous, but place us in a position that will excite the envy of one of the greatest nations of the world?"

Thanks to the adhesion of Mr William Miller, an able and popular leader of the Nova Scotia Catholic party, the motion was carried by a large majority. The fight thus ended in the Provincial Parliament, was carried to a new field, and Dr Tupper was obliged to continue his gigantic and victorious struggles in a wider one. Before separating the Nova Scotia Legislature passed its present Constitution.

XVII

HISTORY OF CONFEDERATION.

This project which was finally put in execution on the first of July 1867, was not new. Situated, as the British North American colonies are, on the borders of a great Republic, it was only natural that everything necessary to unite all strength for the hour of danger should be prepared. An unforeseen act of inconsistency might cause the Americans to put in execution their Monroe doctrine. Then nothing could be easier than to sweep down upon our divided Provinces, which in the winter had no means of communication. Moreover in America, where liberty is so loved, the state of these colonies became intolerable. The trade was restricted by all species of checks placed upon it, both by England, whose interest was to keep us in commercial dependence upon her, as well as by the several tariffs established by the Provinces themselves. This was a source of embarrassment and weakness, and in order to obviate those difficulties, Canadian statesmen had long pondered over a change of the Constitution. In 1658, Francis Nicholson, the then Governor of New England, advocated a Confederation of the British North American Provinces with the object of mutual defence.

Chief Justice Sewell, in 1814, addressed a letter to the Duke of Kent, in which he proposed a Federal Union of all our Provinces. In 1839, Lord Durham, in his fa-

mous report when he stated that "*the Canadians would be swamped*" took up Judge Sewell's idea, with a few modifications. He would have preferred a Legislative Union as it might have placed the Canadians in a greater danger--as though what God protected was not well protected? Even in 1847, at Toronto, the British American League discussed the question. In the Nova Scotia Legislature, in 1854, Mr Johnston proposed a motion for the union of the Maritime Provinces, which he sustained in a powerful speech, with a view of preparing the public mind for the change. Some Canadian statesmen were not at first, favorable to the project, and merely agreed with it when they found that it was impossible to do away with the *dead lock* which had existed in the United Canadas since 1862. Here and there a few writers threw in a word upon the necessity of a change in our Constitution. The union of 1841 had done its share. The Ultra Loyalists feared however a change that might further loosen the bonds that held us to the Mother Country and lead us towards independence.

In 1855 and 1856, Mr P. S. Hamilton, Commissioner of Mines for Nova Scotia, had written two remarkable pamphlets in favor of the Union, and in 1860 he addressed an important letter upon the subject to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

In 1857, Messrs Johnston and Archibald were sent to England as delegates, by the Nova Scotia Legislature, to confer with the authorities on the subject of the Colonial Union. The following year, on a motion by Sir A. T. Galt, Messrs Cartier, Rose and Galt were sent to England to confer upon the Confederation question. In the fall of 1860, Dr Tupper delivered, in the Mechanic's Institute, at St. John, New Brunswick, an important

lecture upon the same subject. Mr Howe, himself, at the end of the Session of 1861, also caused a resolution to be passed in the same sense. The Duke of Newcastle declared himself satisfied. So far, however, with but few exceptions, all action was confined to theory ; yet the idea had taken such a forward stride that Canadian statesmen decided to attend the Charlottetown Conference in September, 1864.

A celebrated writer, known for his deep knowledge, profound doctrine, clear patriotism, brilliant style and active mind, had done more than all put together to open out the idea of Confederation, and above all to render it clear, feasible and comprehensive. In 1857, ten years prior to the accomplishment of the event, in a series of articles published in the "*Courrier du Canada*" of which he was Chief Editor at the time, Dr J. C. Taché, the present Deputy Minister of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics, foreshadowed the foundation of our Confederation. In 1858 these articles were collected into one volume under the title of "*Des Provinces de l'Amérique du Nord et d'une Union Fédérale.*" This work, like all that proceeds from Mr Taché's pen, is worthy of being read and re-read : our present constitution is really to be found there in all its details. It surpasses inspiration, it is a true prophecy ! The fathers of our Confederation must have attentively studied this work of Mr Taché in order to form the resolutions on which the British North American Act is based. Mr Cauchon was the most dangerous enemy of Mr Taché's views. Editor of the "*Journal de Québec*" at that time, he opposed strongly the project so elaborately explained by the correspondent of the *Courrier* ; it is well known that Mr Cauchon spoke for his friends of that day ; later on, when the inevitable union took place, we find Mr Cauchon all aflame with his ardor, and writing a splendid

pamphlet to demolish his former articles. After all Mr Cauchon was forced to acknowledge that his views were defective. For him Confederation was full of great promises—even as to Manitoba land.

In order to see clearly that a constitutional change was necessary, it will suffice to present to the reader a list of the successive administrations and their rapid changes under the Union. A cabinet disappeared each year. The Union which only lasted twenty-six years, saw the following eighteen administrations :

13th February	1841—Draper-Ogden.
16th September	1842—Baldwin-Lafontaine.
12th December	1843—Draper-Viger.
18th June	1846—Draper-Papineau.
29th May	1847—Sherwood-Papineau.
8th December	1847—Sherwood.
11th March	1848—Lafontaine-Baldwin.
28th October	1852—Hinks-Morin.
11th September	1854—McNab-Morin.
27th January	1855—McNab-Taché.
24th May	1856—Taché-Macdonald (J. A.)
20th November	1857—Macdonald (J. A.)-Cartier.
2nd August	1858—Brown-Dorion.
6th August	1858—Cartier-Macdonald (J. A.)
24th May	1862—Macdonald (J. S.)-Sicotte.
16th May	1863—Macdonald (J. S.)-Dorion.
30th March	1864—Taché-Macdonald (J. A.)
7th August	1865—Belleau-Macdonald (J. A.)

It was a difficult task for our statesmen to devise a scheme whereby Canada might be extricated from its false position. The advent of Confederation was at hand ! With that object

in view, Messrs Macdonald, Cartier, Langevin, Howland, McDougall and Galt went to meet Messrs Tupper, Tilley, Archibald and Mitchell in London. Lord Monck went also. It was in 1866 that Sir John Macdonald was chosen President of the deputation, and the project of Confederation was finally settled and sanctioned by the Imperial Government. On the 17th of March 1867, the measure received the Royal Sanction, and at the same time the Intercolonial Railway guarantee was given. Finally, on the 22nd of May a proclamation was issued, putting an end to the constitution of 1841, and appointing the 1st July for the inauguration of the Confederation of the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Such, in a few words, is the history of Canadian Confederation. Imperfect as this sketch may be, we could not refrain from inserting it here. Moreover, it is so connected with Dr Tupper that his biography would be incomplete without it.

XVII

ELECTION OF 1857—DR TUPPER ALONE ESCAPES FROM THE
DEFEAT OF THE CONFEDERATES IN NOVA SCOTIA.

The great measure was finally adopted. It was, however, necessary to put the immense machine in working order. A general election took place, which gave rise to a most bitter and determined struggle, above all in Nova Scotia. Of all the Confederate candidates only one escaped—Dr Charles Tupper. At the close of a devastating tempest, whose violence has swept all before it, we, time and again, behold a solitary tree in the midst of the ruins by which it is surrounded. This political tempest struck Nova Scotia with a formidable violence; Conservative ruins were strewn on all sides. The grand electoral voice had spoken,—the people were in the midst of an extraordinary excitement, upheld and pushed on by the powerful tribune, whose efforts were all concentrated in favor of the repeal of the Confederation Act. The election contest revolved around that one pivot. Sir Charles Tupper did his utmost to oppose the formidable opposition led by the Hon. Joseph Howe. The struggle was powerful, imposing, at times wild, yet ever memorable.

Dr Tupper, when before the masses, was always a powerful and triumphant adversary. There he unfolded with wonderful skill the very prodigies of eloquence itself. Beneath

the guise of a seeming indifference he hides a soul filled with a warmth, and a heart overflowing with a sympathy, scarcely equalled. With a somewhat grave aspect he kindles into enthusiasm before his audience. He grows warm, he grasps his adversary and converts him into a barrier—a powerful defense. What troubles and difficulties are met with upon the Canadian political hustings! The speaker must be ever prepared upon all subjects. He that enters the political arena must possess a knowledge of history, geography, political economy, statistics, the principles that divide parties, commerce, finance, &c., &c. Let not the human heart be unstudied, for there is the source whence the orator so often draws his success! Dr Tupper, for the triumph of his party, neglected nothing. Though serious, he knew how to be gay. A smile is the indication of wisdom. Few know how to laugh or smile. A true laugh, the index of an elevated mind, is too lofty for vulgar conception. It soars too high for the generality of men. But the people who feel the true and sublime in nature can see truth in the very radiance of a smile. A word, a look, an act, a thought may often suffice. An adversary can forgive anything save ridicule. Are you desirous that envy should not reach you? Then remain as you are, soft, quiet, dull, uncongenial, just like the every-day speaker. Thus you will be safe from the sting of jealousy which rankles in the heart of the envious, but you will have done nothing for the cause you serve! Dr Tupper acted with energy, he spoke with words of fire, and tuned the heart-strings with a hand of delicate touch. The orator's thoughts were made manifest until every one believed in its success. In this way should all *husting* combats be waged. Speak for the cause of your adoption, not for your personal interests!

A grander field is about to open out before Dr Tupper ; Confederation has expanded to the political horizon. Men of talent and ability felt cramped within the limits of the petty Provinces. Their patriotism seemed far from at home in its confinement. Naturally do they seek a wider ground. New destinies arise before us. A peaceful revolution was at work in our midst, and with festivity and flowers, the enchanting vales of old Acadia, which were lost to France by armed injustice, were about to be restored. The provincial interests intermingled and a new era dawned upon us. Some accepted with diffidence this new state of affairs, fearing it would be prejudicial to the interests of the minorities, while others looked upon it as the consolidation of our national institutions and the guarantee of our future prosperity. Sixteen years have not sufficed to enable us to judge of such a work, yet the progress attained has been considerable and has outstripped the most sanguine expectations of the authors of Confederation and its most devoted partizans.

Our total commercial strength, which in 1868 was represented at \$131,027,532 in 1882, reached the immense figure of \$214,686,130. A like progress may be seen in all other branches of industry. Sciences and art took a new rise. On all sides we find an activity, a striving, an advancement, a universal development, a glorious hope !

XVIII

1867—MACDONALD ADMINISTRATION—DR TUPPER IN
ENGLAND, ENGLISH TITLES AND DECORATIONS.

Sir John A. Macdonald, called by Lord Monck (then Governor General) to form the first administration under Confederation, drew around him the most able men he could find, and above all those who were most active in bringing about the new order of things. Sir George E. Cartier, Sir Hector Langevin, The Hon. Senator Chapais, Sir A. T. Galt, Sir Leonard Tilley, The Hon. Messrs Mitchell, Howland, Wm. McDougall, Sir Edward Kenny, Sir John Rose, and the Hon. A. Archibald, composed the cabinet. Dr Tupper, through a very honorable motive, refused to enter the Cabinet, owing to the peculiar position occupied by his Province, which had sent to the Commons as representatives, men totally opposed to Confederation. The member for Cumberland, in order to do justice to the Catholic minority, gave way to Sir Edward Kenny, who then represented that minority in the House, in fact Dr Tupper was the only Unionist elected. During the first session Hon. Joseph Howe strove to turn into ridicule the position taken by the Confederate leader of Nova Scotia. Dr Tupper made a happy reply to his sarcastic remarks. He predicted to this veteran orator, that in the not distant future, the people having come to

themselves and duly considered the position, would rally around the Confederation banner, and a majority of Nova Scotia's delegates would be seen in this House ranged around even himself; a prophecy that shortly afterwards was accomplished. In 1878 Dr. Tupper came out of the election struggle supported by a splendid majority from his Province, and stranger still, on the 30th January 1869, Mr. Howe accepted the position of President of the Council, under the Macdonald Administration. So it is in political life, the adversaries of yesterday, become the allies of to-morrow. Moreover, circumstances change or modify the opinions of men, idiots or fools alone remain unchanged in their ideas. Nevertheless Mr Howe did not come at once enlist under the standard of Confederation, vexed and indignant that others should have carried to a successful issue a measure once advocated by himself but abandoned, on account of his vacillating character, Mr Howe, even after 1869 continued his agitation in favor of the repeal of the Confederation act, with this object in view he crossed the Atlantic and raised in England a strong party favorable to his pretensions, the Canadian Government, knowing the influence of Dr Tupper, with the Cabinet of St. James, delegated him to defend the attacks of Mr Howe upon Confederation; the two old adversaries met face to face in London. Sir Charles Tupper paid a friendly visit to Mr Howe. Those two men, ever in opposition to one another, were attached to each other by bonds of affection which they themselves could not understand nor explain. Between some natures there exist secret sympathies, mysterious connections, talent calls forth admiration, admiration engenders friendship; the transition is natural. Moreover Mr Howe did justice to his adversary, after his defeat of 1855 in answer to a

friend who asked him, who this Dr Tupper who had just conquered him, might be, he said : " you will know him soon enough, this Dr Tupper will soon be at the head of the Conservative party in Nova Scotia." Howe judged clearly right for once.

Dr Tupper's mission was again crowned with success. Mr Howe returned discouraged and almost converted to the Confederation struggle. From that time there was no serious opposition to the new political state inaugurated in 1867. A particular circumstance gave Dr Tupper an occasion to prove his loyalty and sentiments of justice towards his Canadian fellow countrymen. The English Government, in order to acknowledge the merits of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir George E. Cartier offered them titles ; unfortunately, the one offered to Sir George Cartier was less than that offered Sir John Macdonald, which wounded the feelings of the French Canadian Leader. Under the sting of the humiliation Sir George Cartier wrote a frank and dignified letter to the St. James Cabinet, declining to accept the title of C. B. which was so ungraciously offered him. England though well served by French Canadians, often acts with partiality in regard to them. Time, the master of all, will teach her justice by and bye. At least let us hope so ! Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier were not only the leaders of a great party, and men of superior ability, but even the most faithful of England's subjects ; side by side during twenty years, they fought gigantic fights to uphold British Institutions in Canada, during a period when a powerful party was in favour of annexation with the neighboring Republic. People became so accustomed to see those two great men together that they were baptised the " Siamese Twins." At this time Dr Tupper was in England,

and making use of his influence with Lord Carnarvon, he suggested the remedy and reparation of the injury done the French Canadians in the person of their chief. It was to give him the title of Baronet higher even than that of K. C. B., accepted by his colleague. Only with great prudence is this title granted, for it falls to the first male heir of the recipient. For this the party should have a certain fortune in order to uphold a certain rank. As large fortunes are scarce in our country so likewise Baronets are few. In Sir George Cartier's case this obstacle was overcome by the fact that he had no male child to succeed him. This was one of Dr Tupper's arguments in favor of the granting of the title, consequently Sir George was created Baronet. Thus did Sir Charles continue his old traditions of friendship towards the minorities ; thus acquiring a fresh claim to Canadian gratitude. So seldom is it that Canadians receive their share of favors, rights, or privileges, and so rare is it also to find strangers ready to defend them. To have done with this question of titles, let us at once say, that Sir Charles Tupper already created C. B., in 1867 was decorated with the title of K.C.M.G., on the 24th May 1879, at the same time as Messrs S. L. Tilley, A. Campbell, W. P. Howland, and Richard J. Cartwright ; admitting that such titles are conferred upon talent and merit, Sir Charles well deserved this honor.

XIX

DR TUPPER IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Distance lends enchantment to the view. The closer you approach great men the smaller they appear; the pencil of imagination has drawn them in such gigantic outlines. Such is not the case with Sir Charles. He is perfectly commensurate with your loftiest expectations. Taking his place in the midst of men known for their science, celebrated for their works and famous for their innumerable services, Sir Charles soars to their level. At the first session, which opened the 7th Nov. 1867, he was called on to reply to his old adversary, Mr Howe, who had made a speech against Confederation in answer to the Address from the throne. Mr Howe displayed the same style, the same acumen, the same eloquence. The House, until then, under the spell of Mr Howe's eloquence was carried away by Sir Charles, who once more remained master of the situation. Nothing could daunt the Member for Cumberland. During the session, with his usual energy, fluency, and knowledge, he spoke upon the various subjects of Tariff, Finance, Annexation, North-West Territories, &c. The 30th January 1869, Mr Howe assumed the functions of President of the Council! Sir Charles again made way for him, even more than that,

he aided him in his re-election and was ready to resign his seat for Cumberland, if necessary, in order to secure him a place! Behold a beautiful example of personal disinterestedness for a principle and object! Dr Tupper convinced that the entry of Mr Howe would put an end to all strife, was willing to sacrifice himself in the interests of peace and union. The succeeding events proved he was correct. A union of parties was accomplished in Nova Scotia and a happy truce succeeded the political strife—reconciliation, harmony and peace now held sway. It was also on the suggestion of Sir Charles that on the 1st May 1873, the Hon. Joseph Howe was named Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. In that position death overtook him and silenced forever the most eloquent tongue that perhaps had ever spoken on this continent. The session of 1869, found Dr Tupper with his usual energy. He spoke several times on very important subjects, such as the Intercolonial, the acquisition of the North-West Territories, the joining of Newfoundland with the Confederation. 1870 finds him again at his post, sixteen times during the session he was heard upon difficult subjects, which he treated with his accustomed ability.

At that time the Act was passed for the cession of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. England had already, the previous year, at the instance of Sir George E. Cartier and Hon. Wm. McDougall, passed an Act to the effect that in consideration of the sum of £300,000 stg., which Canada was to give to the Hudson Bay Company, the greater portion of the North-West Territories would be acquired. This Company, since 1670 had possessed the sole monopoly of these vast regions and reserved for itself over and above 50,000 acres around their posts and a 20th part of all the lands of the Saskat-

chewan. Its monopoly was over. Thus for the 6th of a cent per acre, Canada acquired 1,800,000 square miles of land, every acre of which is now worth \$2. This act and the entry of British Columbia into Confederation greatly strengthened the latter. Thus all the British North American colonies, save Newfoundland, were bound together from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a distance of 4000 miles. The acquisition of these territories caused innumerable debates in the House, and occupied the attention of the principal men of the two great parties which divide our Canadian political world. Amongst others, Dr Tupper took a most prominent part.

XX

1870-73, SIR CHARLES TUPPER AS A MEMBER OF THE
MACDONALD CABINET.

On the 21st June 1870, for the first time, Dr Tupper entered the Canadian Cabinet, in the position of President of the Council ; which place he held until the 1st July, 1872, when he became Minister of Inland Revenue : he continued in the latter office until the 22nd February, 1873, when he was transferred to the Customs Department. He held the latter office nearly a year. On the 6th November 1873, the Macdonald Administration resigned on the question of the Allan Contract. The Macdonald Cabinet was composed of able men, skillful politicians and expert financiers, Sir John Macdonald in the Department of Justice, Sir George E. Cartier in that of Militia and Defence, Sir Leonard Tilley in the Finance Department, Hon. Peter Mitchell in the Marine and Fisheries, Hon. Wm McDougall in the Public Works, Sir A. Campbell in the Post-Office Department and the Hon. J. H. Pope in the Department of Agriculture ; to Sir Hector Langevin fell the place of Secretary of State, and in 1869 he entered the Department of Public Works—at which time Railways and Canals came under the same head—giving a large amount of work to the Minister. Sir Hector was well known for his methodical mind, assiduity at

work, aptitude in business, general regularity, political knowledge, and faithful adherence to his word when given. All these qualities fitted him to worthily succeed as a leader Sir George E. Cartier, whose death took place in London, the 2nd May 1873. Sir John A. Macdonald is too well known to render it necessary to speak of his vast knowledge, or his administrative qualifications and judgement in the government of men and measures. Messrs Tilley and Mitchell had already played important parts in their Province. Ontario was represented by Messrs McDougall, Howland, Morris and O'Connor, all men of fame, knowledge and ability. Such was the Administration of which Dr Tupper was called upon to form part. By his energy, intellect, profound and quick perception, he soon attained an enviable position amongst his distinguished colleagues. The session of 1871 was remarkable; it enforced upon the members of the Cabinet an enormous amount of work, and Sir Charles Tupper shewed himself indefatigable in the performance of his onerous duties. He took part on not less than sixteen occasions in the debates upon several important subjects. The extension of Canals occupied to a great extent his attention. The American Erie Canal, which opens in the lake of that name, threatened to become in dangerous opposition to our Welland Canal, the object of the latter was to unite the waters of Lakes Erie and Ontario and to facilitate navigation even to the Niagara Falls. It became necessary to have this Canal enlarged in order to permit larger vessels, loaded with western produce, to descend by way of the St. Laurence, and thus more rapidly reach the European Markets. The fisheries, of great importance to us, were not neglected. But the paramount question, was beyond doubt, the uniting of British Columbia to the Con-

federation. Sir Charles Tupper was very active in the discussion of those important subjects. The opposition led by the Hon. Alexander McKenzie, Member for Lambton, counted in its ranks men able, wise and skilful. Thus the Government party was hard pushed; the Ministry was obliged to be ever on the alert. That same year (1871), British Columbia entered the Confederation on the express condition that within the space of ten years Canada would construct the Pacific Railroad. Such a promise might be difficult to keep, owing to the state of our commerce and finances. The above stipulation led to the resignation of the Government two years after.

In a new country and under a new system with endless requirements and lofty aspirations, all had to be remodelled. The Ministers labored with an indefatigable zeal to meet all the exigences of the situation. Messrs T. Trudeau, G. F. Baillairgé, J. C. Taché and other Departmental chiefs proved equal to their positions. A number of laws, relating to the Civil service, the Public Works, the Mails, the Tariff, and Insolvency were proposed, confirmed and put in force. It was also in 1871 that the Treaty of Washington was signed, in virtue of which the Americans agreed to pay us \$4,500,000.00 indemnity for the use of our fisheries during the passed twelve years, besides \$1,000,000.00 to the Island of Newfoundland. The practical Yankee has, they say, since abandoned the use of fish (even on Friday)—*it costs him too much.*

Has the treaty been forgotten? Sir John A. Macdonald's chances for the Presidency of the United States are very slender. He would do better to hold his Premiership on this side of line 45 ° "*A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.*"

Sir Charles Tupper took charge of the Inland Revenue Department on the 1st July 1872, (at which time the Hon. Alex. Morris was named Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Manitoba,) and entered upon his work with his usual activity. He originated many reforms, repealed the old regulations as to Weights and Measures and gave the country a general law on the subject which has proved satisfactory ever since. The Insolvent Act also took up much of his attention. In the House he was certainly the standard-bearer of his party. Although sometimes too sarcastic, the House always listened to Sir Charles Tupper with great respect and close attention. With pleasure his friends heard him, with vexation, at times, his adversaries: so lively and so pungent are his points! Sir John A. Macdonald charms his adversary; Sir Hector Langevin convinces him; Sir Leonard Tilley coaxes him; Mr Blake inspires him; Mr Chapleau astonishes him; Mr Pope perplexes him; Mr Laurier mesmerises him; Sir Charles Tupper nails him down,—masters him; one would think he grasped some solid and heavy weapon with which he mercilessly strikes his opponents. He holds above them the glistening sword of Damocles. A Conservative Danton, advancing in powerful strides towards the goal with an ever increasing audacity, heightened by constant successes. The galleries in the Commons grow lively—they care little for lukewarm addresses — they call for firmness, life, novelty, something unexpected. And when it is known that Sir Charles Tupper is to speak the galleries are sure to be crowded. Unlike the Roman orators of old, who at the close of their harangues were forced to call upon the people for applause, Sir Charles Tupper never had to say: *Plaudite cines!* So spontaneous and continuous were the plaudits accorded to him.

XXI

6TH NOV. 1873, RESIGNATION OF THE MACDONALD
ADMINISTRATION.

Already two years had passed since the entry of British Columbia into the Confederation and yet the Pacific Railway had scarcely advanced. British Columbia threatened to sever the Confederation bond. The Government struggled hard to extend that immense line over the plains of the North-West. It was the most gigantic undertaking ever attempted by a people numbering only 4,000,000. But Columbia being the keystone of the Confederation arch, it must at all hazards be retained, for through that Province only could the Pacific coast be reached and thus become the common highway to the Indies, Japan and China. It would be necessary to pass over it in order to reach Europe, the route being fifty miles shorter than any other. The Confederation Government having incurred a debt in order to carry out the building of the Intercolonial, the enlargement of the canals and other public works, could not meet the exigencies of the situation and at the same time push on the Pacific Railway. The North-West, as yet uncolonized offered no revenue. Under such circumstances the Ministry thought fit to treat with foreign capitalists, but the latter refused their co-operation to the Pacific enterprise. Then the Allan syndicate was formed. The country offered \$30,000,000 in money and 50,000,000

acres of land for the road : the latter to be finished according to the agreement with British Columbia. All went well, Montreal was jubilant, all that remained was to sign the contract. The terminus was to be in that loyal city. Alas ! every fine day has its morrow, every medal its reverse ! The people are ever fickle. To-day they chant the triumphs of their great ones ; to morrow they will turn on their heroes. A dark cloud hung upon the horizon. The elections took place under the old law, and were somewhat degenerate. The play was for high stakes ; A *flush* carried the day. Both parties must have resorted to bribery, the government less perchance than the opposition, but what is criminal in the governing party, is virtuous in the one that is governed. The pure and delicate Yankee, Mr L. S. Huntington, of fiery virtue, became indignant that the Ministry could possibly expend a few million dollars ; this was the same man whose election in Shefford cost him \$32,000 and who succeeded in surreptitiously obtaining from the Hon. Mr Abbott's clerk, (a Mr Norris,) several papers of a private and confidential nature. These papers tended to show that the Ministry had spent certain sums of money during the election. The elector likes well enough to be bribed, but does not like to have it made known ; great indignation was felt from one end of the country to the other. The opposition dwelt upon it in its clubs, its press organs, and at its indignation meetings. The Ministry saw it would be difficult to face the storm as long as the excitement lasted. A man struck with fever cannot partake of all kinds of nourishment. The crisis must pass over first,—so it is in political epidemics. Time alone can correct errors, re-establish the truth, bring light into the darkness and cure the wounds inflicted. The Ministry resigned, it was perhaps, the worst trick they could play upon their opponents.

The latter took the reins of Government at the very moment when the difficulties had most accumulated regarding the Pacific Railway ; moreover the Conservatives had been so long at the helm and exposed to the reproaches of the Opposition, that the people imagined the latter alone could restore the golden age to Canada. As a general rule, in representative countries where interests differ in sections and are often antagonistic, it is well that administrations should at times change. It produces a powerful emulation of good and leads to a more perfect system of Government. The flow and ebb of the tide purifies the atmosphere,—a sea ever calm, engenders corruption and death. The times require changes ; generations grown old, become too mechanical and oppose with vehemence any innovations no matter how much required.

To know when to surrender is a great art : to know how to retreat in order to gather fresh strength for another fight, is a useful science. Sir John A. Macdonald knows well the secret of elasticity, he has studied every recess of the human heart ! The wayward public will yet come back in all good faith to itself. The Ministry abandoned their power.

Sir Charles Tupper and many others of his colleagues clung firmer than ever to Sir John A. Macdonald, and gave him a banquet in the city of Ottawa, almost on the morrow of his fall ! Already was the re-organization of the party manifest. After a defeat, an able and victorious general will not stand with folded arms ; but reforming his scattered battalions, he prepares for fresh victories, studying more closely the enemy's plans, numbers, aims and designs, he returns to the attack and recaptures the lost position. So should it be in a war of constant struggles and tortuous efforts in political strife.

XXII

1873 TO 1878, HON. A. MCKENZIE IN POWER

The position was now altogether reversed. Sir John A. Macdonald and his friends passed over to the left benches. The old Liberal Opposition took the right, having for their chief the veteran reformer of Upper Canada, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. Deeming it advisable to appeal to the people, he triumphantly carried the election of 1874. He came in with an immense majority. The session passed off without much skirmishing, the Conservative Opposition desiring to give the new Government a chance to develop its plans and apply its boasted economical principles. But Sir Charles Tupper, who lives only on debate was the more vehement in his attacks. He was the terror, above all, of the new Minister of Finance, Sir Richard J. Cartwright. Upon him he fell mercilessly. He examined his arguments, overlooked his reports, analyzed his speeches, took up his points with a logical force and oratorical power beyond the common. The *Pacific Railway* question was the principal subject of discussion. The Mackenzie Government had adopted a new plan for the construction of that Road; it proposed utilizing the water stretches so as to shorten the number of railed miles, and build the road in half the time. This plan left itself open to cri-

ticism, as our severe western winters close up navigation during six months of the year. Already the Ministerial position was growing difficult and untenable.

Capitalists refused to accept the offer of \$10,000 and 20,000 acres per miles for the 2,629 miles of railway to be made, even though the Government offered twenty per cent interest on the monies specified in the agreement. This offer was equivalent to \$26,390.00 in money and 52,580,000 in land—above the four per cent interest.—Doubt as to the success of the undertaking then arose. Mr Mackenzie, endowed with a head-strong will, went on badly despite the displeasure of some of his own partisans above all of the people, then feeling a reaction in favor of the other party. Several elections were annulled by the courts, the Opposition carried a great number of the constituencies thus left open. In January 1875, Mr Wilfrid Provost, an advocate of brilliant talents, was defeated at Two Mountains. In October 1877 the Hon. Mr Laurier, Minister of Inland Revenue, suffered the same fate in the liberal stronghold of Drummond and Arthabaska. In January 1878, Hon. Mr Vail, Minister of Militia and Defence lost his election in Digby. Also in Ontario the Government suffered considerable and important losses. Dr Tupper was ubiquitous in helping his political friends. We find him in North Renfrew, Toronto, South Ontario and Essex, where success always crowned his efforts which at the same time discouraged the Ministry and renewed the confidence of the Conservative party.

The part of the opposition is comparatively easy; to criticize being ever less difficult than to act. The years spent on the left were of great service to Sir John and his party. All the harm that was done was shouldered on Mr Mackenzie. The bad crops were imputed to him, as

well as the want of work. He was the black sheep, the scape-goat for all the country. The Conservative papers and speakers left no respite for the Government. The struggle was lively every where. The great commercial crisis came on to render the situation still worse. Mr Cartwright would not hear of a change of tariff, on the pretext that a country's prosperity cannot be re-established by a stroke of the pen, even though the people cried out for a change, situated as we are alongside the American Republic we must put on a bold face, and uphold our rights as powerfully as they do, in order not to be overcome in the struggle for success. In theory all nations are free traders, but in practice they often have to become protectionists, which is a distinction that the Mackenzie administration would not understand; hence its unpopularity and short career, as we then expressed it: "The question is one of Free Trade or Protection. The governing principles of these questions, as far as concerns different lands are not absolute. On the contrary, they are in accordance with the revenues, needs, resources and commercial relations of these lands. We should evidently only protect ourselves upon objects we do not produce. Free trade suits wealthy nations whose industries have reached a certain perfection. Young nations require protection to build up their manufactures and develop their resources. French industries took their rise under Louis XIV, thanks to Colbert's system of customs. Amédée Gabourd thus speaks of them: "Colbert imposed strict rules on labor, but at the same time ensured it a national success. Foreign produce was struck with an exorbitant tariff which made importation to France very burdensome." Knowing the inferiority of French industries the great Minister resolved to expand them by pro-

tecting them against foreign competition. He was rigorous with smugglers ; this protection encouraged French manufactures. That protection must diminish in proportion to the development of the country. England well understood this policy, and while seeking to make others lower their tariffs, she raised her own for protection against strangers, and that is one of the secrets of her commercial greatness.

The English nation, seduced by the advantages of Free Trade, had since reduced their tariff. But the effect was disastrous to the country. Belgian iron came in at so low a price, that mining operations ceased and "strikes" became the order of the day. Gladstone's Liberal theories have injured England considerably of late years. Napoleon III dazzled by Cobden's Free Trade ideas strove to put them in force in France, despite the national interest. Financial disasters followed. Strong protestations were made by the Legislative body. Thiers and Panger-Quartier, knowing the price and worth of labor, made memorable speeches on the cancelling of the treaty with England. After Sedan the people hastened to reward their defenders : Thiers was called to the Presidency and Panger-Quartier was named Minister of Commerce. If England has reached a high point of prosperity, she owns it to Protection. So is it with the United States. Even from 1790 those questions of economy arose. Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, &c., saw their independence and prosperity in Protection. Thus from 1812, Hamilton, Secretary of State, made a report to Congress in favor of higher duties on foreign goods. England became alarmed, and in Manchester alone, half a million was subscribed for the purchase of goods at reduced prices, in order to inundate the

States with British merchandise and prevent the establishment of manufacturies. Henry Clay avenged the Americans shortly after in 1824.

For having neglected the adoption of these views and having created the Supreme Court, the Mackenzie Government worked its own ruin. Sir Charles Tupper discussed in a hundred places, before the people, and in the House, those important questions; all over the Maritime Provinces, his views became popular. What he did there, was also done in Quebec and Ontario. The Hon. John Costigan was equally successful in New Brunswick. Sir John A. Macdonald was received in triumph in Quebec, Montreal and all through Upper Canada, where his words created votes and his presence sympathisers. Immense political pic-nics were held throughout the land. Confidence returned to the Conservative ranks, while the Liberals seemed to loose courage. Under these circumstances came on the general elections of the 18th September 1878. The demoralized Liberal party returned defeated from the contest; the greater number of its leaders remaining upon the arena.

XXIII.

1878.—THE CONSERVATIVES RESUME POWER.

Sir John, with his characteristic political sagacity, foresaw that he was soon again to resume the reins of power. In general, the people are with Sir John: much is forgiven him for he loves much . . . his country. The country understands him. Sir John knows the human heart; one would think he touched its every pulsation and penetrated its most secret recesses. He has been called a fascinator. Not only does he fascinate but he feels, dissects and consolidates. The heart is the internal motive power of the Creator's grandest work. In fact by the heart, man becomes enthusiastic, passionate and elevated to a higher sphere. Study the human heart, learn how to master it and you may govern the world. Such is one of the secrets of Sir John's success!

The Mackenzie Government met with a series of insurmountable difficulties. The Ministry required an economist. The Free-Trade theories of Sir Richard Cartwright, placed the Government in the impossibility of facing the exigencies of the times. The creation of the Supreme Court was also inopportune at a time when finances were low. Sir John, with that keen eye that often speaks more powerfully than words, saw the troubles of the Mackenzie Government, but he did not desire to create too many obstacles for his adversaries. Dr Tupper, more brilliant,

more daring, more ardent, rushed into the political contest and dealt Sir Richard Cartwright such blows that he never recovered his ground.

Sir Leonard Tilley, who had early learned the art of figures and finance, had left the arena of politics and occupied the position of Lieutenant-Governor of his native Province, and thus Sir Charles remained to watch the tactics of the Government and take charge of the Opposition finances. This was leaving Sir Richard in bad hands. Sir Charles has a sound knowledge of mathematics, and the resources to be drawn therefrom. His contest with Sir Richard Cartwright will remain memorable in Parliamentary annals. The Opposition had been very active during Mackenzie's years of power. Political assemblies followed each other throughout the Provinces. Sir John was well received, principally in Montreal, Quebec, Sherbrooke, Glengarry, Toronto and the Maritime Provinces. Sir Charles was everywhere to meet his opponents. Upper Canada saw him several times in the struggle for his party. Halifax saw him fighting for his principles. Digby also beheld him in armor. The fight went on in every part of the country, public opinion was greatly agitated, a commercial crisis unexampled in the history of the land had swept like a tornado over the country, carrying off in its might the fortunes of many unprotected manufactories, financial institutions, &c., Lord Dufferin, an able but dangerous politician, precipitated the fall. He advised Mr Mackenzie to hold his general elections in the autumn of 1878 before his own departure for England,—Governors have not the influence they imagine upon the people. The electors cared not for Lord Dufferin. His conduct in Lebanon was well known. His Mennonite and Icelandic immigration into Manitoba con-

siderably disappointed the country. Those immigrants were too expensive. The plan adopted for the construction of the Pacific Road appeared impracticable. The Hon. Senator McPherson, a man of rare talent and devoted patriotism, had shown, in a series of very remarkable articles, written in a lucid and logical style, the danger of the fiscal policy of Mr Cartwright. The Conservative press also thundered out its warnings, and the country desired a change. The elections were about to present a favorable opportunity. They took place on the 17th September, 1878. The event was sweeping against the Ministry, the greater number of its members were ousted. It was more than a catastrophe, it became absolute ruin. The Opposition triumphed all along the line; Sir John Macdonald's majority was greater even than that of Mr Mackenzie's former one. Political consistency thou art but a name! Strange to say, the cleverest men on both sides were defeated. Sir John Macdonald himself lost his election in his old constituency of Kingston! Sir Hector Langevin was also defeated in Rimouski! So vacillating is the elector, that he willingly elects none but his equals, he seems to abhor talent! Political education will do away with a prejudice so disastrous to public interests. Men of talent have more difficulties to overcome than they escape. The *minus habens* flatter the people and use them as a means to cast down men of lofty aspirations, pure patriotism and high minded hearts. The Ministry resigned—Sir John Macdonald was recalled, and surrounded by his former guard, his faithful friends, those who had fought most courageously for him in days of trouble, he formed a new administration which had the approval of the House and country.

XXV

THE NEW MINISTRY—THE MARQUIS OF LORNE

Ingratitude is the parent of political crimes ! A leader becoming guilty of such, must soon fall into general discredit. Nothing is so odious as ingratitude, particularly when a man has fought, sacrificed his time, rest and fortune for the triumph of any cause or party, he has a right to be honored and recompensed accordingly. Sir John A. Macdonald did not forget his former friends. The House was composed of many talented men. Ontario was represented by able lawyers : McDougall, Plumb, Hector Cameron, Dalton McCarthy, Rykert, Kirkpatrick, &c ; and the leader of the party had but the difficulty of choice !

The following were the members of the Administration :

Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier and Minister of the Interior.

Hon. James Macdonald.....Minister of Justice.

“ Chs. Tupper “ “ Public Works.

“ L. H. Langevin.....Post Master General.

“ L. R. Masson.....Minister of Militia and Defence

Hon. L. S. Tilley	Minister of Finance.
“ Alex. Campbell....	Receiver General.
“ J. H. Pope	Minister of Agriculture.
“ M. Bowell	“ “ Customs.
“ J. C. Pope.....	“ “ Marine and Fisheries
“ J. F. G. Baby	“ “ Inland Revenue.
“ J. C. Aikens	Secretary of State.
“ John O'Connor....	President of the Counsel.

In his choice Sir John A. Macdonald proved his gratitude. The Cabinet was composed of those who had been foremost in their exertions to secure the triumph of the Liberal Conservative party ; men of energy, talent and devotedness to their leader. Six of those Ministers have long since passed away ; such is the rapidity with which political generations go by ! Important questions about then, were in action throughout the Province of Quebec. Letellier's *coup d'état* caused a great commotion. The Marquis of Lorne, the new Governor, arrived under these circumstances, to replace Lord Dufferin. The latter misled him as to the Letellier affair ; a crisis was at hand. Letellier had many and active opponents. The “*Maison Bleue*” of Ottawa was to be the furnace where the balls were run to a white heat, preparatory to being fired on the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec. The Marquis of Lorne, judiciously sent the thorny question for decision to England, but the decision given there satisfied but few. The popularity of the young Governor received such a blow that only with difficulty it has since recovered ground. Sir Hector Langevin and the Hon. Mr Abbott crossed the ocean to plead before the Colonial office, the charge against the Hon. Mr Letellier. They returned victorious.

England, once more, sanctioned the old maxim, that “the King reigns but does not govern,” at least apparently.

A friend of literature, the Marquis of Lorne founded the Dominion Royal Academy on the principle of that of London. His administrative career is remarkable on account of the liberties we obtained in making commercial treaties, the construction of the Pacific Railway, the development of the North-West—but his departure, despite the esteem in which he is held personally, will leave Canada somewhat indifferent. He leaves no monuments behind, save the Royal Academy and even that! Is it as it should be?

XXV

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AND BISHOP HANNAN.

Political parties in Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, are not divided exactly as in the Province of Quebec—the questions at stake not being quite the same. The Clergy also which in general favor the Liberal-Conservative Administration at Ottawa, are neutral when there is a question of local administration. When a religious party holds a thesis or one and an undivided truth, it should never abandon it for the synthesis of a hashed up truth! But the Catholics are so situated in the Maritime Provinces where they are in the minority, that they are obliged to seek the alliance of the party that can most favor them. Archbishop Hannan, successor to the late Archbishop Connolly, favored the party opposed to Sir Charles Tupper in Nova Scotia. Sir Charles Tupper, by his impartiality towards the minority had acquired the esteem and admiration of the new Archbishop of Halifax, and on the occasion of his being decorated with the Order

of K. C. M. G. (Knight Commander of the Orders of St. Michael and St. George), Archbishop Hannan wrote a congratulatory letter to the Minister of Railways, clearly setting forth the esteem in which he held him independent of all political opinions. He established, what we have often repeated in the course of this sketch, that Sir Charles Tupper always endeavored to do justice to the Catholics of Nova Scotia. The letter is a fine tribute to Sir Charles Tupper and worthy to be republished—it is as follows :—

“ ST. MARY’S HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA,
June 13th, 1879.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I fear you will not attach much importance to my cordial congratulations on the high honor lately conferred on you by the Queen, when my letter also contains some references to a few other little matters.

“ However, I can in all sincerity assure you that I am greatly rejoiced at your eminent and well deserved success and at the distinguished marks of the Royal favor conferred on you. I was absent from the Province for several days and knew nothing of the affair or otherwise I should have long since written to felicitate you and to pray that you may be long spared to preside over and regulate the public affairs of the Dominion.

“ I must, in candor, say since 1860, when I first had occasion to be brought into contact with you, as a public man, I have found on every occasion, that you were most desirous to meet the views and the reasonable wishes of my predecessor—myself and the Catholic body.

“ On this account too I am glad you have been chosen for honors and distinctions which I hope you may long enjoy.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

“ Again offering you my cordial congratulations,

“ I remain,

“ Yours, most respectfully,

“ † THS. L. HANNAN,

“ Archbishop of Halifax.”

The HON. CHARLES TUPPER,

Minister of Public Works, Ottawa.

XXVI

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC.—PUBLIC WORKS OF CANADA.

Sir Charles Tupper, desiring to more closely apply himself to the grand work of the Pacific Railway, divided, in 1879, his Department into two branches: that of Railways and Canals (which he kept for himself), and that of Public Works, which was confided to Sir Hector Langevin. The latter by his methodical spirit, his extensive, deep and varied knowledge of all administrative branches, is competent to fill any charge and preside over any Department. Thus as Minister of Public Works Sir Hector Langevin gives general satisfaction. Great improvements have been made all through the Dominion under his management. The *Montreal Gazette* of the 9th June last, reviews the "General Report on Public Works from 1867 to 1882." This report, prepared under the direction of Sir Hector Langevin, gives interesting details that the reader might be pleased to read. Thus is it given in the *Gazette*:

"PUBLIC WORKS OF THE DOMINION.

"Sir Hector Langevin has caused to be prepared, an admirable and most useful summary of the reports of the Department of Public Works from the date of Confederation down to the present time. The amount expended

upon the Public Works of Canada has been \$164,575,507, a sum considerably in excess of the debt, and of this large amount \$96,453,745 has been spent since Confederation. The following statement of the expenditure by Provinces will be of interest :—

Prior to Confederation.

Nova Scotia (Railways and Canals).....	\$ 6,286,764
Prince Edward Island (Railways and Har- bours).....	3,339,116
New Brunswick (Railways only).....	4,642,484
Quebec.....	18,841,363
Ontario	31,926,032
British Columbia (Dredges only)	92,000
Total.....	\$68,121,761

Since Confederation.

Nova Scotia.....	\$11,634,925
Prince Edward Island.....	935,667
New Brunswick	14,609,111
Quebec.....	22,373,723
Ontario	32,441,313
Manitoba.....	6,352,913
North-West Territories	3,061,532
British Columbia	4,919,022
Miscellaneous	125,236
Total.....	\$96,453,745

“ By far the largest portion of this outlay has been made

upon railways, the Government having spent \$69,372,532 in the construction of these works for the prosperity of the country, while \$21,357,130 has been granted in the shape of subsidies to various roads. The canals have absorbed \$42,245,578, of which more than twenty-three millions has been spent since Confederation ; public buildings have taken \$16,549,334 more ; harbours and breakwaters \$2,677,738. People who are fond of talking of the debt of Canada as a large one, would do well to study these figures, which indicate how wisely and to how good a purpose the expenditure necessitating it has been made."

The construction of the Pacific Railroad was the *sine qua non* of the entry of British Columbia into the Confederation. The Government bound itself in honor that the country should build it. If our country is to become a separate and independent nation in America, we should have over our own ground access to every portion of our territory. In theory all agree to this. The Pacific joined to the Intercolonial Railway would be the grand connecting link of all the Provinces. This line, extending from Ocean to Ocean, runs over a distance of 4,000 miles of fertile land, and is able to sustain a population equal to the United States. This immense project would suffice to awake the enthusiasm of a man less ardent than Sir Charles Tupper. In concert with his colleagues, he went forth to the labor with his irrepressible vigor. In the House, on the hustings, in the clubs, in his office, everywhere he treated the vast subject with precision, clearness and method. He convinced every one of its feasibility. He could foresee a grand future and that it would open out new zones of immigration and progress. In his eyes Canada would grow great. On the 12th May, 1879, he finished one of his

speeches by a splendid panegyric of the country. He said : "that 10,000 of the best men in Canada were at this moment pouring into the North-West to create a great, fertile and prosperous country. We had stated that the Government had proposed the additional obligation that in those resolutions were propounded the means by which those obligations now before us could be met. There was no Canadian with a spark of patriotism within his heart who could look without pride at this great Canada of ours, or who could dwell without enthusiasm upon the fact that Canada, washed by the two great Oceans, was a country below the Arctic Circle, as great as Europe, if they took the small countries of Spain and Italy out of it. We not only had this magnificent country, but we had it endowed by nature with all those natural features which were necessary to make a country great and prosperous. We had within our country over 200,000,000 acres of the most fertile land in the world, inhabited by a people who though only numbering 4,000,000, were as industrious, as intelligent and as enterprising a population as could be found on the face of the globe. Under these circumstances, what Canadian statesman was there, with the responsibility of developing this magnificent country thrown upon his hands, who would not be a traitor to the best interests of his country, if he did not put forward every effort to construct a great national highway that would be a bond of union from one end of this magnificent country to the other? They ought not to appeal in vain to the honorable gentlemen opposite. Instead of raising an old exploded cry, instead of exciting a single feeling that was calculated to damage their efforts, it was their duty, it was the duty of every patriotic Canadian to unite on this grand question, and differ as they might, upon questions of personal

party politics, on this grand question of a great national highway for Canada (to which all parties in this country had been committed in the most solemn manner,) they should all unite in one steady patriotic effort to bring to consummation a scheme on which the undoubted prosperity and rapid progress of the country depended."

XXVII

THE NORTH-WEST AND THE PACIFIC.

About 1670, Prince Rupert secured for himself the exclusive right to hunt and trade on all the lands between Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains; and the only consideration for this was that one beaver, beavers we always highly appreciated, and ten bear skins should be given in homage to the Sovereign of England. How convenient it is to be a King's cousin! Thus the Hudson Bay Company was formed, which held that vast territory until it was purchased by the Canadian Government in 1869. The Company held exclusive trading rights until 1849, when the father of Louis Riel induced them to accord some greater commercial liberties to the people at large. Lord Selkirk was the first that founded a permanent establishment in Manitoba. So far, there had only been trading posts here and there. This attempt at colonization, on the banks of the Red River, at Point Douglas, at the beginning of the century, was scarcely successful. The colony was devastated by many plagues and annoyed above all by the employees of the North-West, whose principal store was at Fort William, at the head of Lake Superior. This company was everlastingly at war

with the Hudson Bay Company. *Homo hominis lupus*—man is a wolf towards his brother-man—on the depths of the savage plains of America as well as on the great war stages of the old world !

It was in 1816, after all species of vicissitudes that Lord Selkirk, whose indomitable energy seemed to grow with his difficulties, succeeded in producing the grain necessary for the colony. He had to bring corn from Dubuque on the Mississippi, a distance of seven hundred miles ! The reunion of the rival companies brought peace to the colony ! The old wood-rangers, trappers, hunters and factors of the company, united with the squaws of the country, and established themselves there, thus creating a race of *Métis* composed of both origins, and who became fond of their liberties and independence. Their country was purchased without their consent or without giving them any guarantees. They arose in arms and obtained all by the help of the sister Provinces. This result was due principally to the half-breeds (*Métis*) of French origin.

After the construction of the barricades, of simple pine pickets, along the Salt river, at St. Norbert, barricades that prevented the envoys of the Government from entering Fort Garry, on Christmas Day, 1868, Major Cameron, son-in-law of Dr Tupper, a brave and a cool man, tried to scale the barriers. “Take away that fence !” he cried out to the half-breeds that awaited him. For answer, they seized the major’s bridle and forced the major to retrace his steps ! These *métis* are not to be laughed at in war time. Mrs. Cameron’s baggage (Sir Charles Tupper’s daughter), being seized, he penetrated into the depths of Manitoba, to the very confines of the besieged country. He was the guest of the *religieuses* of St. Norbert. The most of these brave women were half-breeds, and Dr Tup-

per was surprised to find so much delicacy, kindness, amiability and virtue amongst a people supposed to be uncivilized ! Religion, that civilizer of people, had spread its blessings over those distant, half barbaric regions. Bishops Provencher and Taché and their zealous companions sacrificed themselves for the land. The Protestants also had numerous missionaries there. Sir Charles Tupper had then an interview with the Fort Garry authorities ; an interview which aided much to restore peace and harmony in the Province. The *Métis* cause, from an impartial view, was quite different from what it was then believed. Peace was restored on the compromise effected between the Government and the Rev. Mr Ritchot and Mr Scott, the Assiniboia delegates. This colony, which in 1831 comprised only 2,390 souls, had about 12,238 on its joining the Confederation !

Winnipeg, old Fort Garry, the Capital of the Province of Manitoba, was then but a little village of 850 souls—a city to-day, containing a population of over 20,000.

The construction of the Pacific Road was the cause of its progress, which has never been equalled in any country in the world.

Peace and an increasing prosperity prevailing throughout the Dominion, immigration began to flow into the North-West, and Manitoba has been rapidly settled.

The Pacific Railway scheme was the cause of great anxiety and embarrassment to the Federal Government, who, feeling convinced of the present impossibility of carrying out this great undertaking, without seriously crippling the resources of the country, they therefore resolved to favor the formation of a company for the construction of the road ; consequently in 1880, a Syndicate, composed of several gentlemen of recognized opulence, energy and

enterprise, was organized, and being munificently subsidized by the Government to the extent of \$25,000,000 in money, and 25,000,000 acres in land (conditional on the completion of the road), have hitherto and are at present carrying out this great national undertaking with unparalleled activity and success. Obstacles of the most formidable nature have been overcome—already the plains between the City of Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains, to a distance of upwards of 900 miles, have been crossed with rails, most substantially laid, and the sparks of the iron horse reverberate through the vast solitudes of the great “Lone Land.”

The completion of this road with its several feeders will be the crowning act of Confederation,—the link uniting and consolidating the several parts of its vast territories. Travellers from all parts of the globe who have visited Manitoba and the North-West, unite in the expression of their admiration of the Canadian statesmen who conceived the gigantic project, the people who have so nobly responded to the calls made upon them, and, lastly, at the indomitable energy with which the officers of the Syndicate are carrying out the work ; the name of Sir Charles Tupper will be for ever associated with it ; as Minister of Railways and Canals, he has, for several years devoted his time to the project, and by his untiring zeal, his eloquent and unflinching advocacy, his confidence in the ultimate success of the undertaking (in spite of the many engineering and financial difficulties which stood in the way, and had to be overcome), he has proved himself eminently entitled to the sympathies and gratitude of the people of Canada. Assailed by his political opponents in and out of Parliament with the most bitter, and, at times, personal virulence, he has succeeded, by his manly and

straightforward course, in silencing opposition and eliciting well deserved praise; like the celebrated Chevalier Bayard, it may well be said of him that he is *sans peur et sans reproche*! Sir Charles Tupper's speeches in Parliament will form an interesting and important chapter in the history of Canada. The future of the Dominion is yet unknown, but it is reasonable to expect, if harmony continues to exist, if the rights of the minorities are respected, if the spirit of centralization is not carried too far, that bright days are in store for the Canadian people. Independence, which is the legitimate aspiration of all nations, would seem to be not far distant, if we may judge from the words spoken by the Marquis of Lorne, at the close of the Parliamentary session last year. The *Montreal Star* says :—

“ A great deal of satisfaction is expressed to-day amongst those who are favorable to independence for Canada, at the tone of the reply of the Marquis of Lorne to the address of the House of Parliament. In his reply, His Excellency admits that Canada had the power of making treaties on her own responsibility with foreign nations and that our High Commissioner is associated for purposes of negotiation with the Foreign Office. This is considered, by the advocates of independence, as a most significant and important declaration in view of the correspondence which was recently published between the Government of Canada and the Foreign Office, in which the latter distinctly denied the right of Canada to modify her tariff in favor of Jamaica in exchange for similar benefits, or, in other words, to negotiate a Reciprocity Treaty with that country. ‘It is tantamount,’ said a well-known politician to-day, ‘to admitting the pretensions not only of Sir John Macdonald, but also of Mr Blake and Mr Mackenzie, and

is certainly a great concession from the Imperial Government, because it is evident that the Marquis has been authorized by the Colonial Office to make this important announcement.”

XXVIII

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA AT LONDON.—PROGRESS OF CANADA IN TRADE, ARTS, SCIENCES, ETC., SIR CHARLES TUPPER'S ADDRESS AT HALIFAX BANQUET AND BEFORE THE DERBY'S CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

Political life will wear out in a short time the strongest constitution ; Sir Charles Tupper is no exception to that rule. During the last few years he has suffered from an affection of the throat, necessitating repose. The resignation of Sir A. T. Galt, as Canadian High Commissioner at London, opened a new career to the Honorable Minister of Railways. His appointment to that important office was gazetted on the sixth of June last, (1883). Sir Charles Tupper left the country under favorable circumstances.

It is a noted fact that Sir Charles Tupper is one of the most successful men in all his enterprises. His aim was always clearly pointed out. He never swerved his ideas nor his actions. He has often endangered his own political career for the public benefit. As an evidence of this, let us recall his education Bill and his efforts in favor of

Confederation in the Maritime Provinces, as well as other measures of his political life. Few men could represent Canada in England to a better advantage, owing to his vast political knowledge and to the high reputation as a statesman, he enjoys in England as well as on this continent.

Everywhere there is a marked progress in the sciences and arts, the manufactures, the agriculture and commerce. Moral progress is also on a level with material progress : witness our criminal statistics.

In fact, success has so well crowned the efforts of the Canadian people that on the 2nd of June last, (1883), at a banquet given to Sir Francis Hincks at Montreal, Mr George Hague, Manager of the Merchants' Bank, and Mr T. W. Henshaw, chairman of the local board of trade, said : the former :

“ The paid-up capital of the banks in June, 1858, was \$17,588,000 ; in April, 1883, it had reached \$54,700,000. The circulation in 1858 was only \$7,850,000 ; in 1883 it had increased, including Dominion notes, to \$45,500,000. The deposits in June, 1858, were \$9,100,000, and in 1883 they had increased to \$133,000,000, including those in Post Office and other savings banks, and in loan companies. The discounts in 1858 reached \$30,100,000, and in 1883 they had risen to \$160,000,000. The volume of trade in 1850 was \$40,000,000 ; in 1868 it had increased to \$130,000,000, and in 1882 to about \$210,000,000. The trade of Canada in 1881 was larger in proportion to population than that of the United States, while our shipping, again, in proportion to population, was more than four times as large. These were facts which marked the progress of this country, showing that no people had, during a like period, made greater strides.”

Mr Henshaw said : “ The commercial progress of Ca-

nada during the last fifty years has, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, far outstripped that of any other country, and it is perhaps fortunate that occasions, like the present, are once in a while offered where information valuable to ourselves, and important to the outside world in its trade relations with us, might be more extensively imparted. To give anything like a history of the growth of the trade and commerce of Canada, since the time when Montreal was merely an outport of Quebec, in 1832, when the channel between these two cities was scarcely fourteen feet in depth, would be impossible at this time ; but I shall give a few figures which will bear out my statement, that in proportion to the size of our population we have within the last fifty years outstripped in trade and commerce any other country. The imports of the port of Montreal in 1835 were \$3,543,600, and the export for the same period were \$1,150,270 ; in 1840, imports \$5,428,262, and exports \$1,593,711. In the next five years the imports were \$8,575,324 and the exports \$2,652,450 ; in 1855 the imports were \$15,120,321, and exports \$2,692,086 ; in 1865 the imports were \$24,301,702 and the exports \$6,730,564. Ten years later, in 1875, our imports amounted to \$35,106,948, and our exports to \$19,935,228. Five years later, viz., in 1880, our imports were \$42,412,648, and exports \$32,246,941 ; and finally in 1882 the importations at Montreal amounted to \$50,527,497, and the exports to \$36,503,001, thus showing a gain of 15 per cent, in exports within the period named. The tonnage that visited this port from 1835 to 1850 was almost entirely sail ; the total number was 666 vessels of 152,143 tons. In 1855 we had six steamers and 197 sail ; in 1860, 37 steamers and 221 sail ; in 1865, 63 steamers and 295 sail ; in 1870, 144 steamers and 536

sail ; in 1875, 256 steamers and 386 sail ; in 1880, 354 steamers and 356 sail ; in 1882, 379 steamers and 269 sail. The total tonnage at the port of Montreal in 1882, including inland and sea, was nearly 1,500,000 tons."

The following table of trade is the best evidence of Canada's commercial progress within the last fifteen years :

	TOTAL EXPORTS	TOTAL IMPORTS	ENTERED FOR CONSUMPTION.	DUTY
1868	\$57,567,888	\$73,459,644	\$71,985,306	\$8,819,431
1869	60,474,781	70,415,165	67,402,170	8,298,909
1870	73,573,490	74,814,339	81,237,603	9,462,990
1871	74,173,618	96,092,971	86,947,482	11,843,655
1872	82,639,663	111,430,527	107,709,116	13,045,493
1873	89,789,922	128,011,281	127,514,594	13,017,730
1874	89,351,928	128,213,582	127,404,169	14,421,882
1875	77,886,979	123,070,283	119,618,657	15,361,382
1876	80,966,435	93,210,346	94,733,218	12,833,114
1877	75,875,393	99,327,962	96,300,483	12,548,457
1878	79,323,667	93,081,787	91,199,577	12,795,693
1879	71,491,255	81,964,427	80,341,608	12,939,540
1880	87,911,458	86,487,747	71,782,349	14,138,879
1881	98,290,823	105,330,840	91,611,604	18,500,785
1882	102,137,203	119,419,500	112,648,927	21,708,837
	\$1,201,454,503	\$1,484,332,401	\$1,418,436,863	\$199,736,698

Not only this country has progressed in trade but also in every branch of human knowledge. Canada is proud of her sons. This Dominion is represented in the Senate and in the Commons by a good number of talented men of whom their country may well be proud. Sir John A. Macdonald retains his bodily vigor and elasticity of mind, his tact and cleverness. Sir Hector L. Langevin, with the many qualities of Sir George Cartier, can manage any one of the public departments, and, if need be, could manage the whole of them at the same time. Such is his habit of work and his methodical mind. Sir Leonard has always a sharp eye on treasury which is constantly swelling under his care.

In fact, Sir John, Sir Hector, Sir Leonard, Sir A. Campbell, the Hon. D. L. Macpherson, A. W. McLelan, M. Bowell, J. P. R. A. Caron, J. H. Pope, J. Carling, J. Costigan, J. A. Chapleau, Ed. Blake, Alex. Mackenzie, W. Laurier, Hector Cameron, J. J. C. Abbott, Dalton McCarthy, J. Royal, A. Ouimet, A. C. P. R. Landry, J. G. Bossé, Geo. A. Kirkpatrick, Amiot, Baker, Beaty, Bergeron, Bergin, Burns, Bernier, Belleau, Bourbeau, Charlton, Colby, Coursol, Curran, Davies, Dawson, Desaulniers, De St-Georges, Desjardins, Dupont, Ferguson, Fortin, Gigault, P. A. Landry, D. Girouard, F. Houde, Ives, McCallum, McMillan, MacMaster, Mackintosh, Woodworth, Daly, Vail, Mitchell, Orton, Paterson, Rinfret, Robertson, Rykert, Tassé, Vanasse, Wood, Alonzo Wright, etc., and Thomas White, whose eloquence and political science is inferior to none, to mention only the House of Commons, are men who would be an honor to any country, and several among them have, certainly, no superior on the American continent, in so far as eloquence, knowledge, patriotism and devotion to one's country is concerned.

Before his departure for England, the friends of the new Canadian Commissioner to London, offered him a grand banquet at Halifax. This took place on the fourteenth of June last. (1883). Persons of all ranks and conditions crowded round the banqueting room; it was a general holiday in Nova Scotia. In answer to his toast, Sir Charles Tupper made an eloquent speech which was applauded with the greatest enthusiasm. The able speaker passed in review the whole of his political career, and the events of the country since his entering politics, as well in his native province as in the Dominion of Canada. This brilliant *résumé* will be useful in writing the history of Canada.

Unfortunately, the scope of this pamphlet will not permit the reproduction of this masterly review of the principal events. Besides, most of the newspapers have published it in their columns.

As a reminder of his name and reputation in a more tangible form within the House of Commons, Sir Charles leaves a son, Mr. C. H. Tupper, M.P. for the county of Pictou. It was this young member who had the honor to propose the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne, at the beginning of the session of 1883. He acquitted himself of that task with marked success and great satisfaction to his honorable father, who then sat on the Treasury Benches, as Minister of Railways and Canals of Canada.

The Maritime Provinces maintained their reknown. Mr. J. Wood, the new member for Westmoreland, N.B., who had defeated the late Sir Albert J. Smith, was called upon to second the Address. His speech was also a very great success. High literature, noble thoughts, expressed in beautiful language, honest sentiments perfectly rend_

ered. The whole House unanimously congratulated the two new members on their remarkable speeches.

It is acknowledged that Sir Charles Tupper has already been very useful to our country since he occupies his new position in England. Always active, very well informed, expressing his ideas with great facility and astonishing clearness, animated by well tested patriotism, Sir Charles Tupper is really the man fit for that high position. "The right man in the right place."

Only lately the "Canadian Gazette" of the 11th October, in referring to the speech of Sir Charles Tupper before the Derby (England) Chambers of Commerce, said :—

"The High Commissioner was asked to respond to the toast of The British Colonies, which was proposed by Mr Wills, M.P. ; and he took advantage of the opportunity of addressing so influential a company of the leading commercial men of the country, by delivering a short speech on Canada, which was extremely well received. In the course of his remarks Sir Charles said that he was not surprised at the enthusiasm with which the toast had been greeted, for at the present moment more than ordinary importance attached to everything relating to the British Colonies. Referring to Canada, Sir Charles Tupper drew attention to the great change which had been brought about by Confederation, and the prosperity that had followed that constitutional change. He then asked permission to avail himself of the opportunity of explaining briefly to a great commercial body, like the Associated Chambers, the modification in the fiscal policy of the Dominion, which had occasioned a great deal of comment in this country. As the representative of Canada, it would be extremely improper for him to offer any opinion upon the questions arising between the great political parties

of the country. But he thought he might fairly take the opportunity of endeavouring to show to the commercial men of England, that when Canada made a great change in her fiscal policy it was not a matter of choice, and was not owing to any opinion in regard to the abstract question of Free Trade and Protection. The change was forced upon the Canadians by the fact that they were 4,500,000 of people living alongside a foreign country of 50,000,000, divided by a boundary line extending from 3,000 to 4,000 miles. Under these circumstances it was impossible for Canadians to properly consider the interests of their country without having some regard to the policy of the great nation with whom they were so intimately associated. During the civil war in the United States, Canada was eminently prosperous, because the labour market in the Republic was completely demoralized. When, however, peace was happily restored in that country and the labour market regained its normal condition, they found that, by the policy adopted by the United States of affording protection to their industries and shutting out entirely the products of Canada, the position of the Dominion was very greatly changed. They found trade declining, a reduced revenue and serious deficits, which were likely to interfere with their maintaining their credit and obtaining the means of developing the great resources of the country. This being the case, they adopted the policy of giving a certain measure of protection to the industries of the Dominion. The result has been to greatly increase the volume of trade, to promote increased immigration to the country, and to furnish remunerative employment for the people. They had large surpluses instead of deficits, and they were thus enabled to work out the great national question of the construction of the Canadian Pacific

Railway, and to proceed with the work with a vigour and success which, under other circumstances, would have been quite impossible. By the rapid construction of the railroad, they were, at the same time, enabled to open up for settlement the vast fertile territory of the North-West of Canada. The effect was already apparent in the influence upon emigration, which had lately increased to the Dominion, whilst simultaneously it showed a relative decrease to the United States. They were now able to offer to settlers inducements as great as, if not greater, than the United States. The work, moreover, had been going on so rapidly that by the end of 1885 they hoped to be able to convey passengers, in a Pullman car, without change, from Halifax on the Atlantic Ocean to Port Meody on the Pacific. All this, it should be remembered, had been accomplished, not only without decreasing, but with steadily increasing imports from the Mother Country. To a nation like England, which imported a large amount of the grain and meat required for home consumption, it was a matter of no little importance that by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the development of the Canadian North-West, they were preparing to furnish both grain and cattle to an extent that would have been otherwise quite out of the question. In addition to the fact that emigration from this country to Canada contributed to the strength and prosperity of the colonial portions of the Empire, the people of England had direct interests in the subject; for the trade returns showed that every person who went to Canada became a consumer of nearly four times as much of the products of this country as would be the case if he went to the United States. Considering, therefore, all these facts, Sir Charles Tupper concluded by repeating, he was not at all surprised

to find that an influential commercial body, such as he was addressing, and representing as it did the commerce of the whole country, was fully alive to the importance of the toast of "The British Colonies." Sir Charles Tupper was loudly cheered on resuming his seat, and was subsequently thanked by many of the leading members of the Chamber for the lucid and interesting address which he had given."

This speech is such as to present Canada with due advantage before Europe. Thus Sir Charles Tupper continues in England his life of labor and devotedness to his country.

It is by his deeds that we know the good man. Sir Charles Tupper has done everything in his power to promote great public interests. He may have been mistaken on the means to use, but his object was always commendable.

No one, not even his bitterest opponents, will refuse to acknowledge his great energy, his love of work, his activity, his sound knowledge and great eloquence.

If he has committed faults, they will be forgiven him, for he dearly loved his country, especially his native Province, and with one of its poets, he can say wherever he goes :—

Nova Scotia my home, whate'er fate may o'ertake me,
Though wandering far from thy dearly loved strand,
My heart will look back until memory forsake me
With longing towards thee, my own native land.
To thy bold lofty mountains in majesty towering,
To thy valleys rich clad in the verdure of spring,
To thy stern granite hillside all ages enduring,
My heart's warm affection will evermore cling.

Thy noble old forests in grandeur extending,
Where the oak and the elm in stateliness vie,
Where the lofty white fern to the tempest is bending
And the tapering fir lifts its cone to the sky,
And that flower, the fairest in all the green wild wood—
The Mayflower—Nova Scotia's own emblem and pride,
How oft' in the gladness of innocent childhood
I've plucked thy bright blooms from the sloping hillside.

'Tis the first to don springtimes' green mantle of splendour,
In May 'tis the brightest of all woodland flowers,
While in autumn its leaves, though burning yet tender,
Awake sad sweet memories of youth's happy hours.
Until in old Scotia the thistle shall perish,
While the rose ranks the highest in Albion's true love,
While the Emerald Isle her green shamrock shall cherish,
The Mayflower's my standard wherever I rove.

Nova Scotia, my home, though we are far separated,
Though years roll between us like waves of the sea,
My love for my country will ne'er be abated,
My heart shall forever remain true to thee.
And e'en though my footsteps may never more press thee,
Whene'er the bright spring gilds o'er the green earth,
The sweet-scented Mayflowers will call me to thee,
My loved Nova Scotia, the land of my birth.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE PROGRESS OF CANADA FROM THE CONFEDERATION DOWN
TO OUR DAY—1867 TO 1883.

Denis Florence McCarthy once wrote :

“ The *Past* shines clear and pleasant,
“ There is glory in the *Present*,
“ And the *Future*, like a crescent,
“ Lights the deepening sky of time ;
“ And that sky will yet grow brighter
“ If the *Worker* and the *Writer*,
“ And the *Sceptre* and the *Mitre*,
“ Join in sacred bonds sublime !
“ With two glories shining o’er them
“ Up the coming years they’ll climb
“ Earth’s great evening at its prime.”

What is the Past ? That space which has elapsed since the dawn of creation down to the present moment. What is the Present ? That fleeting instant that never exists, and still seems always to exist ? What is the Future ? That space unmeasured and unmeasurable that extends from this into the endless cycles of eternity. For the moment let us lay aside the strict terms and call our Past that instant traversed from the opening of this sketch until we reach the date of our Canadian Confede-

ration. Let our Present be that time which has elapsed from the 1st July 1867, to the present moment and for us as for all others, the Future will still be that eternal span which in its joys or sorrows, successes or reverses is hidden by the mystic veil of the "*yet to be*"; that veil woven by the Hand of Mercy.

Let us gaze for a moment upon our *Present*, and from its story draw significant lessons for the *Future*. "There is glory in the Present," sings the Bard; and truly in our national progress, our grand discoveries, our extensive undertakings, we see a ray of that real glory which should ever hang as a halo over the destinies of a young nation.

On the 1st of July 1867, Queen Victoria, with the map of Canada before her eyes, placed the sign-manual of Royalty upon the little village of Bytown, (now Ottawa) and created it the Capital of a vast Dominion. Then, the hidden resources of the land were as extensive as to-day, but far from being so well developed. When the flag of Confederation floated from the spire of the central-tower, on the old Barrack-Hill, we saw it wave over a land vast in its proportions, endless in its resources, boundless in its liberties, majestic in the sweepings of its rivers and gorgeous in its natural panorama, with the fringes of the Atlantic washing its eastern slopes, and the mirror-waters of the Pacific reflecting the shadows of its western hills.

Since that day what progress has this Dominion made? It is a long story to tell, we must strive to condense it as much as we possibly can. A volume would never contain the statistics of the great and broad-spreading regions developed or discovered, the mineral wealth unfolded, the forest tracts utilized, the iron band of railways that cross, and intersect and divide the land from shore to shore, from north to south, the institutions of education founded

and flourishing, the laws codified, revised, improved and brought to comparative perfection. These and a thousand other changes upon the face of our young Canaadian history, mark the giant strides with which we have advanced since 1867.

Behold the opening of those vast territories of the North-West ! On the day of Confederation we had scarcely entered the anti-chamber of that rolling prairie through which the Saskatchewan, Assiniboine or Fraser rush, —scarcely had we an idea of that phantom that danced before the minds of our statesmen, a grand Pacific highway, joining the two immense oceans together and spanning our land from the extreme East to the extreme West. Behold it to-day ! Marching on rapidly to its accomplishment, nearing daily the great barriers of the West, and soon the iron horse that prances beneath the old walls of Quebec, may speed its course until he snorts and puffs amidst the gorges of the Rockies or by the Cascade caves, where echo is lost in regions where the foot of man never trod, and where the rock never before saw the sun's decline, or the dawn of a glorious day.

Gaze upon the city of Winnipeg to-day and consider what it was sixteen short years ago ! The Indian has gone towards the setting sun ; the fire of his wigwam will soon cease to curl above the fast disappearing forests ; the bison or buffalo, that shook the prairies with the tramp of a thousand hoofs, is fast becoming extinct, and an occasional one is a rare sight to-day ; humanity is ever on the forward march, we have heard the trumpet call, and in the ranks of civilization we are advancing towards our goal—the grandeur, magnificence, and rightful position of our country.

No matter how political parties may have combatted, no

matter how alternate governments may have arisen to power or fallen into the shades of opposition, no matter what commercial crises may have been felt, suffered or passed over, still onward Canada has advanced, ever extending her commercial influence into other lands, ever scaling the steep and rugged heights that arise in the path of a young nation's progress, ever united, happy, and above all successful. Cast your eye over the monumental map of our last fifteen years, studded with educational institutions,—a grand eternal galaxy, that like the planets that could scarcely be seen even by the telescope of Herschell, a thousand years ago, and whose light is almost perceptible to the naked eye to-day, growing larger and brighter, as the years roll on and whose radiance begins already to shed a lustre over the old world—our system of Education received the palm at Philadelphia, over that of all other countries, a few years ago. While some of our men are inventing the gigantic plans of the future, there are others with physical energy developing and executing the same—while the pioneers of civilization have been carving a highway through the forests and mountains, the advance-guard of intellect has been establishing colleges, convents, and medical, law and engineering schools upon the ruins of the once barbaric splendor of the primeval tribes. Yes, McCarthy was right—"there is glory in the Present." And right again he was, when he stated, that our sky will yet grow brighter, "if the *Worker* and the *Writer* and the *Sceptre* and the *Mitre*," join together and hand in hand travel the future years. Still not only have we progressed in this general way, but in every minute particular we have advanced. Count our population of 1867 and that of 1883, and see what numbers, like streams from a thousand different national sources,

have rolled in to the vast ocean of a Canadian Nationality; calculate the revenues of 1867, and compare them with those of our day, and behold the immense difference, the great strides made in so short a space.

Nations like individuals have their birth, their youth, their old age and decline. Some grow old before their time, others remain in a seeming perpetual youth. Canada is one of the few that has rapidly grown to the strength and vigor and experience of manhood, without ever losing the bloom and freshness of youth. She has done more in her confederate strength since 1867 than Troy in an age, Rome in a century, or any nation of the old world in triple the space of time.

FINIS.

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